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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

QUESTIONS ON MILITARY SCHOOLING ANSWERED

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Feb 83 in its "Magazine" program carries the "Open Platform" program on education in military schools and academies with listeners' questions answered by Maj Gen Josef Mikulec, Chief of Administration of Institutes of Military Education of the Ministry of National Defense.

The program gives the basic conditions for admission to secondary military schools and also to military institutions of higher education as: Czechoslovak citizenship; required moral attributes; good health, especially for admission to study at the school for pilots; and fulfillment of conditions for admission similar to those at civil secondary and higher education institution. Secondary military schools take applicants after completion of compulsory education and higher military education establishments take candidates up to 24 years of age--exception of 1 or 2 years is possible.

The moderator says: "Listener Fiala from Usti nad Labem says that the information on the occupation of professional soldier is not objective enough. He thinks that advantages are mentioned more often--that it, material security and the possibility of getting a flat--than the exactness and demanding character of the profession. I can add that we often meet similar views in discussions with listeners. What is your opinion?"

Josef Mikulec says that it is hard to decide what is a difficult occupation. However difficult the work is objectively, it is easy if we are interested in it. The work of soldier is demanding; strong will and discipline are necessary and it is necessary to choose the profession for the right reasons.

The moderator says that Anna Mala from Prague 6 phoned and said that she knew that in the military schools the conditions for studying are very good although students have to work hard. How could future officers and non-commissioned officers be prepared for their difficult future life in these hothouse conditions?

Mikulec: "What are 'Hothouse conditions?'" We do not think that because our students, in particular in the higher military education establishments, live

in very well equipped residence halls, can have daily showers, have well equipped clubs and sport areas that it means they live in 'Hothouse conditions.' I think that this is natural and it has nothing to do with the demanding character of the school. The school is demanding, the training asks for a lot and it is just that after such hard work they have good conditions for relaxation. So the conditions in the schools and the demanding character of training are two different things."

Moderator: "And it is true that the conditions, for example, at the Military Advanced College in Vyskov is something like from a fairy tale. The accommodations and also the college are very up-to-date and I think that this should be a trend which other education establishments ought to move."

Mikulec: "Certainly. And it is also a fact that our first-year students of advanced military colleges usually--if it is possible--do not live in these residence halls. They live in ordinary barracks within the ordinary military system. Only more advanced students are accommodated in the halls."

The moderators say listener Jan Kocian from Pardubice asks: "There are often problems with graduates of civil institutions of higher education: they do not want to go where the society needs them. Is this the case also in the army?"

Mikulec: "Very rarely. Our students are led during the 4 to 5 year courses to understand that they have to work where they are needed. And they are needed especially in the western part of our republic: In Sumava, Cesky Les. This is understandable. Naturally we have also had cases where transfer was requested. When the reasons are serious--family or social reasons and such--we try to comply with them but it is not always possible. But I can say that we do not have as many problems with our graduates as in civilian life, that is for sure."

The moderator repeats the phone number of this "Open Platform" Program for the listeners and then asks: "Can our students choose a course at a university abroad?"

Mikulec: "Only professional soldiers. First, it is necessary to become one whether by graduating from a military educational establishment or in other exceptional ways, such as admission after the completion of a civil higher educational establishment. This is usually a postgraduate course. Our graduates are sent most often to study in the USSR but also to military schools in the GDR and the Polish People's Republic. We do not send young people to study abroad at the secondary level at all."

He adds that applications for admission to secondary military schools can be submitted from the beginning of the academic year previous to the one in which the candidate wants to take on a course. Admission procedures are carried out in the beginning of March. These are the last few weeks for submission of application for the next year. The deadline for application for admission at higher military education establishment is the end of April to the beginning of May. The admission procedure takes place after the

secondary school leaving examination; at the end of June to the beginning of July. The second round of admissions is in August--for students who failed to be taken on elsewhere--but the military advanced colleges are not too keen on late candidates for whom a military college is obviously only a second choice.

The Moderator says that many questions have the common denominator of asking about material conditions during studies and financial conditions after graduation.

Mikulec: "I must say I do not like this question. Although the material conditions are very good they ought not to be the motive for entering a military educational establishment. A decision to enter such an establishment means to become a professional soldier and to choose a lifelong profession naturally demands motives other than good financial and material conditions. Still, to answer the question: The advantages are: our students usually have very good, I can say, excellent residence halls which are free of charge, including board, clothing and books. They have no problems with textbooks, of which there is no shortage at military colleges. Students at secondary military schools receive Kcs 50 monthly pocket money and at higher military education establishments, after the initial 5 months in which they serve their basic military service in a shortened version, students receive Kcs 900-1,500 monthly according to the year of the course. Pilots receive Kcs (?200) more. If a higher military education college student is married and his wife cannot work for serious reasons--such as looking after a child--he will receive Kcs 300 allowance for a wife and Kcs 200 for a child."

Moderator: "Do study results affect the stipend?"

Mikulec: "No. We motivate our students--if we have to set a financial reward--with additional rewards for good results--which are not small. They are considerable and if a student has good results he can receive a very nice sum in a year."

Moderator: "Jan Mika from Slany asks about the specializations available at the 5-year course of the Higher Technical Military College in Liptovsky Mikulas. What can one study there?"

Mikulec: "The Higher Technical Military College in Liptovsky Mikulas prepares commanders for special types of troops and engineers for the same type of troops. There are 5-year courses giving diplomas in engineering, to become experts in anti-aircraft technology, radiolocation, armament technology services, to specialize in electronics or to become an engineer for the signal corps. The same specializations can be completed in 4 years as operating engineers, but these are to train commanders."

The next group of questions relayed by the moderator are about the possibility of studying medicine and pharmacy at military medical colleges.

"Our listener Pekova asks whether it is possible to study at the Military Political Academy of Klement Gottwald in Bratislava.

Mikulec: "Certainly. It admits civil secondary school leavers, but with one condition: We take on either members of the party or officials of the Socialist Youth Union with the prerequisite that they become members of the party. This is a peculiarity of this establishment and it is natural because we are training future political workers there."

The second part of Comrade Pekova's question is: Will you list the faculties at the Ground Forces Advanced College in Vyskov.

Mikulec: "This college educates commanders for motorized infantry forces, tank crews, reconnaissance and artillery units and units equipped with missile launchers, commanders of engineer troops and commander-engineers for chemical corps. Beginning with 1 September 1983 this college will also teach the specialization of economic management of the army, that is, rear echelon services. There are five of them. This specialization used to be taught at the Advanced Military Technical College in Zilina which has been abolished and the boys are now transferred to Vyskov."

Higher military education establishments prefer to take students from civil secondary schools: secondary military schools are mainly to provide medium-level cadres. The graduates of military secondary schools have the right to enroll at higher educational establishments but they first ought to spend some years working, added Mikulec.

Moderators: Can you list the conditions for admission to the Higher Air Force College in Kosice. Our listener wants to become a pilot."

Mikulec: "The Kosice Air Force College has a commanders' faculty, and a faculty for engineers. Future pilots ought to have perfect health and a check up will be carried out in the Institute of Air Force Medical Care in Prague."

He added that girls are not admitted to higher military education establishments. They can, however, take 1-year courses after the secondary school leaving examination and be trained in anti-aircraft defense and the communication network.

He also noted that the age limit is, definitely, a maximum 26 years for admission to military academies, with the preferred age being up to 24.

Moderator: "We have already used up the time for this debate and we still have many questions which we have not answered. We have promised to answer all requests and we want to keep our word. Therefore, you can learn more on military schools at 2030 gmt on the Prague radio station Friday 18th February in the program "Talks about the Armed Services." We shall then answer all your questions."

CSO: 2400/153-F

HUNGARY

MSZMP'S SZUROS VISITS FRG, MEETS SPD LEADERS

AU081111 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Feb 83 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Matyas Szuros' Talks in the FRG"]

[Text] At the invitation of the SPD, Matyas Szuros, member and head of the International Affairs Department of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a visit to the FRG from 31 January to 4 February.

He had talks with SPD Chairman Willi Brandt; Helmut Schmidt, deputy chairman of the party; Herbert Wehner, chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Faction; Horst Ehmke and Wolfgang Roth, deputy chairmen of the faction; Egon Bahr and Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, members of the party presidium; and other leading SPD representatives. At the meetings, held in a cordial atmosphere, they exchanged views on topical issues of international life, primarily ways to consolidate European peace and security, restrain the arms race and strengthen bilateral relations.

Matyas Szuros met and exchanged views on a few issues affecting the two countries with Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the FDP's Parliamentary Faction; Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU-CSU Parliamentary Faction; and Alois Mertes, minister of state of the FRG Foreign Ministry.

Matyas Szuros had talks in a comradely atmosphere with DKP Deputy Chairman Hermann Gautier; Karl-Heinz Schroeder, secretary of international affairs; and Gustav Trambowski, member of the presidium of the leadership; on topical international issues, the communist and workers movement and interparty co-operation.

CSO: 2500/158

HEGEDUS OPTIMISTIC ON SAMIZDAT, REFORM

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Peter Martos: "Budapest Boutiques for Samizdat ?"]

[Text] Vienna--The closing of Budapest's inner city "Samizdat Boutique" was not forever. The "dismal 26 January," the date on which architect Laszlo Rajk had to clear out of his apartment and, in the process, relinquish the meeting place of the critical intelligentsia may turn out to have been just an episode. For when 12 February rolled around, a good 100 people met in an apartment not far from the one that had been confiscated earlier. An anthology bearing the characteristic title "In the Black" was sold there and the organizers of the event belonged to the BESZEL0 samisdat magazine group and the poor relief organization SZETA.

Ever since November, the "new wave of repression" was one of the main topics of conversation among Budapest intellectuals. Following the initial searches of Rajk's apartment, people had been wondering how it was possible that the "liberal" trend in cultural policy which ran alongside the economic reform policies of the Hungarian leadership at least since 1978 should now be terminated with the help of police repression. Lone wolf Miklos Haraszti--best known in the West for his vehemently critical book about work on the assembly line "Piecework"--minced no words at all, calling it "the end of an illusion" in PROFIL magazine recently.

Despite the realities he has lived through over the course of many years, the doyen of the Hungarian critical intelligentsia, former minister president Andras Hegedus, tends to be more optimistic. "I would merely call it a negative intermezzo," he says, adding that certain groups inside the bureaucracy may decide to create additional "incidents" but ruling out a real change in policy leading to regular restrictions.

Hegedus who was a Stalinist head of government prior to the 1956 uprising but experienced a "change of mind" since he bases his optimism both on theory and personal experience. On the one hand, "culture czar" Gyorgy Aczel--who no doubt occupies a seat close to the center of power as Central Committee secretary and member of Politburo--has had Hegedus in for a series of conversations. And on the other hand, there are the political realities. "Without hurting the economy and each individual citizen," Hegedus says, the economic reform cannot be taken back and it must be accompanied by similar moves in other spheres of life."

So what happened to Rajk was just an exception ? Following the order to vacate his apartment, the son of the foreign minister executed in 1949 and rehabilitated much later has not been subjected to any restrictions whatever. For that matter, the official explanation for the steps taken against him is quite bland: he had two apartments, one of which he had to give up by law after the death of his mother. But even the functionaries admit it would be more difficult to operate a samizdat boutique on Rose Hill in Buda than in the center of town.

Hegedus calls this particular incident "very deplorable. It left a bad taste in the mouth of people even quite unconcerned with the matter." But, he feels, there is no reason to view it as a reason to reinterpret government policies. "Up to now," he says, "neither the bureaucracy, nor samizdat have looked for ways to integrate this bit of color. Strictly speaking, it is a purely cultural activity, albeit with political overtones." The work performed by the critical intelligentsia had even been welcomed by the leadership in the sense of providing an outlet to let off steam. "From that point of view, the steps taken against Rajk could even become part of the learning process." The fact that even party circles were taken aback by them would seem to indicate that a return to earlier practices is out of the question in Hungary.

Hegedus, always on the lookout for new approaches, can already see a rosy future dawning. Perhaps there will soon be many samisdat boutiques," he says, referring not to chance meetings like the one which took place on 12 February but to a certain institutionalization of the critics. Why shouldn't there be a development in cultural life similar to the "legalization of private initiative" instituted in economic life?" Approval to publish books in Hungary is tied to the availability of paper, not to content. Since there is no formal censorship in Hungary, it is quite conceivable for individuals or groups to take advantage of the law and to finance the publication of materials they consider important out of their own pocket. There are authors being published in this way even today, Hegedus says.

Technically, Hegedus' ideas could provide an out for both sides. The model for it would be the legally approved practice of supplementary work in various economic fields which served to create an illegal "second economy" by the end of the seventies and which by now has led to a flowering of private initiative--as for example in the restaurant business. If samisdat went "official," it would lose those who are interested in "political excitement;" but that, according to Hegedus, would not be a bad thing anyway.

But back to the analysis of the policy. The mid-January "conference on agitation, propaganda and education policy" confirms Hegedus in his optimistic view of things. An earlier meeting in 1973, he points out, almost instantly led to a slowdown and reversal of reforms and it was not until 1979 that the presently operative "economic course" was initiated. But at this year's conference, Aczel clearly took charge, stating that tolerance would continue to be the order of the day in cultural policy. Hegedus thus

inclines to the view that the steps taken against Rajk as well as isolated attacks by the official media against independent intellectuals are the exception.

After the conclusion of the conference, the official party newspaper NEP-SZABADSAG said that "openness and honesty form the cornerstone of the policies and the modus operandi of the MSZMP." The paper then went on to assure any cadres that might have lost faith. "No amount of fancy words or rosy obfuscations can alter unpleasant truths just as no amount of black pessimism can darken our achievements and victories." Cryptic as these formulations are, every Hungarian knows what the score is: extreme difficulties experienced by the world economy serve as an obstacle to the reform policies.

What does this have to do with the critics? Hegedus firmly believes that the economic problems which touch on and outweigh concerns in all spheres of life have put their stamp on all government policies. As long as reform policies continue, "cultural tolerance" is not threatened. The former minister president—now a critic of the regime—feels that the ideology conference should not be permitted to cloud over true intentions. "Hungarian society is very sensitive," Hegedus says. "A change of policy would have left a mark." The crackdown on Laszlo Rajk does not seem to indicate anything of the sort.

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CSO: 2300/140

POLAND

ECONOMIC IDEAS OF OPPOSITION GROUPS CRITICIZED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 1, Jan 83 pp 139-150

[Article by Małgorzata Dąbrowska-Szeffler and Henryk Palaszewski: "The Economic Concepts of the Antisocialist Opposition in Poland"]

[Text] The fight against the socialist system by the Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR), the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and the leadership elite of Solidarity was largely conducted in the economic sphere. Although unintentional on the part of the anti-socialist group, this fact corroborates the Marxist-Leninist thesis regarding the role of productive relations in the structure of a socioeconomic formation.¹

The onslaught on the principles of the socialist economy in Poland was twofold: practical attacks concentrated on activities undermining the economy and complicating its emergence from the crisis, and doctrinal attacks aimed at theoretical subversion of the principles of the socialist system in Poland.

On the pragmatic plane, the basic tools used to accelerate the economic decay were the following:

- 1) weakening of the productive capacities of the economy by organizing strikes and other forms of disruption in work (this refers primarily to those strikes in 1981 which were not justified by anything but constituted the main weapon of political struggle);
- 2) insisting on introduction of free Saturdays without compensation in the form of increased work productivity and against a backdrop of decreasing output;
- 3) insisting on an increase in wages not justified by increases in labor productivity in conditions of a deepening economic crisis;
- 4) discouraging economic reform or programs for emergence from the crisis, undermining enterprise management authority, etc.;

5) limiting the capacity for export, both directly (holding up the shipment of goods) and indirectly (by limiting production).²

We are not speaking here about the first post-August activity of Solidarity, where it would be proper to make a distinction between the justified economic and public slogans of the working class which were aimed at restoration of the basic principles of socialism in the sphere of productive relations-- both in distribution and economic management--from other slogans which were gradually introduced by opponents of socialism.

The Solidarity experts that came from the anti-socialist groups of KOR and KPN formulated the tactical and strategic goals of the union and methods of their implementation, which were based on the assumption that the worse the economic situation in the country the easier it would be to demonstrate the "incorrigibility" of the socialist method of production.

Efforts were made to delay or brake all activities by the government seeking to stabilize the economy, achieve a socialist renovation of public and economic life, and introduce a reform of the economic mechanisms to pull the country out of the crisis, stressing at the same time the "ill will" of the authorities and their "incapacity," as well as the alleged reluctance of the government to introduce social and economic reforms.

All this was taking place at the time when the Ninth Congress approved guidelines for surmounting the crisis and stabilizing the economy set forth in the program submitted by the government. The Congress also acknowledged that it is a "duty of the party and its obligation to the entire society to introduce an economic reform in the shortest possible time."³

Alongside negation and depreciation of the party and government programs, the technique of presenting pseudo-alternative solutions was also practiced. The faked nature of these programs resided in the fact that they were based on principles declared a priori and disconnected from reality, which had the purpose of demonstrating the existence of opportunities for development not perceived by the government. A perfect example of this trend was the so-called alternative program of Stefan Kurowski, whose author tried to demonstrate the possibility for the Polish economy to achieve without major sacrifices and within a short time a 15 percent growth of the national income.⁴

It should be pointed out that that would be a pace which the Polish economy had not attained even under the best of circumstances. The basis of this program was the so-called conversion of the economy, which was presented as little short of revelation, even though the government program at that time also contained the proposals of conversion, although understood in a wider sense as initiation of restructuring of the economy in accordance with the public needs.⁵

In a modified form, Kurowski's program was included as an annex in the program of Solidarity, approved by the First National Congress of the delegates of this organization.

A similar type of pseudo-program aimed at creating the impression that the economy could be stabilized in the conditions of the crisis (aggravated by the chaos purposively induced by the anti-socialist groups) was the so-called plan of economic stabilization developed by the Economic Committee of the KPN under the direction of Leszek Moczulski. This was an obviously political program seeking to destroy the basic principles of socialism in the economic sphere. Proposed economic solutions for economic stabilization accounted for a narrow margin of the "plan," and even these were presented in a slogan-type format; no attempts were even made to substantiate the outlined principles. Thus, among the postulates formally aimed at stabilizing the economy were propositions for ceilings that were supposed to stem inflation. The first of these anti-inflationary tools was a budget cut that was to limit the spending by central government agencies. One could generally agree with this position, but the proposal of a drastic cut in these spending items by 50 percent in a situation where a substantial increase of government spending on health services, education and culture and a considerable growth of public benefits were badly needed, looked clearly contrived.

According to Moczulski, a remedy against inflation would also be "blocking a portion of certain salaries, pensions and benefits," namely those of:

- a) the current members and candidate members of the PZPR, since "they all have been in a privileged position";
- b) former party officers; and
- c) all persons in a position of leadership except those elected through self-government committees.

Moczulski did not require "blocking" the revenues of the highest income groups of private enterprise and trade, not to mention the profiteers. After all, his program was directed not against private ownership and its striving for self-enrichment, but at restraining the members of the PZPR and discouraging them from leadership functions.

Another anti-inflationary measure proposed by Moczulski was to auction unutilized capital assets to communal, self-government, cooperative and union agencies and individuals. A reasonable proposal was the idea of indirect taxation of luxury goods (which was also contained in the government program and is currently implemented to some extent).

In addition to the above anti-inflation measures, Moczulski also proposed, as a means of economic stabilization, the so-called (external) convertibility of currency.

On the whole, these suggestions could not be interpreted as a plan for economic stabilization. As a matter of fact, they were based on the presumption that the only way for economic stabilization in Poland is through changing the basic principles of the economic sphere, namely, abolition of the state ownership of the means of production, as well as of the central control of the national economy.

This plane of fight against socialism--theoretical subversion of the structural principles in the economic sphere--was considered by the anti-socialist opposition as extremely important, as witnessed by the convergence of the principal lines of attack by both KPN and KOR, and the extremist experts of Solidarity.

★

Their attacks were focused on problems of property (the concept of "public enterprise") and on striving to reduce to a minimum the state's economic and social functions.

The criticism of the socialist ownership of the means of production by the anti-socialist groups sought, above all, to prove that the state property under our system is devoid of the quality of public property, whereas the ownership by a group of people (specifically the personnel of an enterprise) could have such a quality. A consequence flowing from this theory in the political sphere would be abolition (or reduction to a minimum) of state ownership; and the taking over of the ownership of state enterprises by their staff.

Already in the Gdansk Agreement, one finds the statement that the new trade unions proceed "from the principle of public ownership of the means of production, which constitutes the basis of the socialist system existing in Poland."⁶ After long vagaries, this statement was finally included in Solidarity's statutes--although not in the body of the document.⁷

A distinction between "public" and "state" ownership is made in the document of the so-called "Network" of Solidary member organizations from leading enterprises entitled "The Position on the Social Economic Reform in the Country." In Part III of this document, we read: "Depending on the degree of autonomy and on property relationships, we propose to differentiate the following types of enterprise: public enterprises, state enterprises, communal enterprises, cooperative enterprises, and private enterprises."⁸ The document thus does not recognize state and cooperative ownership as public ownership.

The Marxist political economy teaches that the public ownership of the means of production appears in the form of state and cooperative ownership, and that cooperative ownership cannot exist with state ownership, as it is not a self-sufficient form. Friedrich Engels wrote: "During the transition to communist property, we will have to make a wide use of cooperative production that will have the nature of an intermediate component--Marx and I never had doubts about that. The matter should, however, be organized in such a way that society and, therefore, during the initial period, the state, retain the ownership of the means of production in order to ensure that the private interests of cooperative unions do not prevail over interests of society as a whole."⁹

The basic attributes of the owner of the means of production is having the means of production at his disposal (making decisions as to the number and type of products manufactured) and the possession of the end-products and

decisions concerning the principles of their distribution. The criterion of public property, therefore, is the possibility of possession by the entire society of the added value and the disposition of the means of production by society in the public interest.

At the current level of development of the socialist economy, the state is discharging the function of the owner through state enterprises by equipping them with the means of production and endowing them with organizational and legal authority to implement production. An enterprise, therefore, produces on behalf of the state; the state thus remains the owner of the means of production and holds the right for disposal of the manufactured product by possessing (although in a mediated way) the product for the society.

State ownership is a form of property that, at the current stage of development of the socialist economy, best implements the principle of the use of the means of production and surplus product for the benefit of the entire society. Implementation of this principle is predicated on two factors:

- 1) correspondence between the goals of production--as set forth by the central government--and the society's needs; this presupposes the participation of society and, primarily, the working class--that is, the immediate producers--in identifying those goals; and
- 2) correspondence between the social goals thus identified with the goals of activity of the enterprise--the holder of the state-owned (socialized) means of production.

Conflicts that in an objective way may arise in the relationships between the state--the owner of the means of production--and the enterprise--their possessor--should be resolved proceeding from the priority of interest of the owner of these means, i.e., the state.

The validity of this principle is unquestionable in a situation where the state government administers the economy (assigns the production goals and the distribution principles) in accordance with the society's interests and needs. A guarantee of a rational consideration for these needs is participation of the working masses in setting the goals, controlling their implementation and controlling the principles of distribution. Such participation is an expression of a true socialization of the means of production.

"Each particular division of the means of consumption is merely a consequence of the division of the conditions of production themselves. The division of the latter, however, determines the nature of the method of production as such."¹⁰

A lack of participation indicates the appearance of a conflict between the need for the real socialization of the production means and a formal institutional expression of public ownership (the system of planning, administration and control), which, in turn, gives rise to a conflict between the conditions of production and the development level achieved by the productive forces.

The distortions of socialism in Poland in the 1970's against which the working class protested in August 1980 were caused by a failure to observe the principle of participation. This symbolized a deepening of the conflict between the level of the productive forces and the development of public consciousness, on the one hand, and the institutional structures in the framework of the relations of production, on the other.

The resolution of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR, discussing the source and nature of the crisis in Poland, notes that "there was a lack of coherent concepts for resolving the conflict between the level of productive forces and the level of public consciousness, on the one hand, and the economic and sociopolitical structures, as well as the method of exercising government authority, on the other."¹¹

The government by the working class is a guarantee for resolution of these conflicts; it can ensure that the means of production will be utilized in accordance with public needs and that the surplus products may be used for the benefit of society.

Collective decision-making--through representative government agencies and organs of self-government (from the central level to the regional level to local enterprises)--brings back the equilibrium between the public ownership of the means of production and its institutional form, restoring an equilibrium between the base and the superstructure.

This road--increasing the participation of direct producers in implementing the function of a co-owner of the public production means--has been taken by the party at its Ninth Extraordinary Congress. In its resolution, the Congress, in particular, noted: "The basic goal of the reform is to ensure a high social effectiveness of economic management. Achievement of this goal presupposes making the planning process public, that is, enlarging the participation of all public groups in forming the development programs."¹²

Shortly after the party congress, Solidarity and KPN put forward, as an alternative to integrated public (state) ownership, the concept of group ownership, referring to this form as public ownership.

Group ownership, in its economic essence, means ownership by a group of individuals. The group of co-owners determines the goals of production and takes possession of the surplus product; it acts exclusively for its own account and in its best interests. This is, therefore, a much narrower area of public ownership than state ownership.

Group ownership was to be implemented through the concept of "public enterprise." This concept means that public ownership of state enterprises would be transferred to personnel of these enterprises.

According to Moczulski's "stabilization plan," the economic reform was to be based on transferring the state ownership of the means of production to the staff of the enterprises. Moczulski suggested that this process would mean a "nationalization" of state enterprises.

Moczulski indicated that the state should retain in its possession only "the enterprises of the defense industry and the service enterprises necessary for functioning of the agencies of state administration," and also "communal enterprises which, by their nature, are not enterprises of public services."

The above-mentioned document of the Network emphasized that in terms of property relationships one should differentiate between public enterprises and state, communal, cooperative and private enterprises, in that "creation of state enterprises is done in exceptional cases determined by the national interest and on the basis of a government decision validated by the Sejm."¹³

What was to be done with the state enterprises operative until then? The document gave no direct answer. It said, however, that "a public enterprise is the basic unit of the national economy."¹⁴ An indirect answer, however, follows from the postulates of the KPN: the state enterprises, which until then remained the basic component of the economy, should be converted to "public" enterprises. In this manner, the common public property would become the property of individual public groups (enterprise staffs), which would use it for their own interests.

Stefan Kurowski even created a theory to be used in political struggle; namely, the supposition that the level of socialization of production means was not adequate to the level of socialization of production. "It is necessary to find such a form of ownership of production means that would correspond to the level of development of productive forces of each particular enterprise."

Kurowski wrongly identifies the level of socialization of production with the internal form of organization of the production process; he fails to see the changes in the substance of the process of socialization of production due to the development of social and international division of labor. The assumption that the level of socialization of the production process in a nineteenth-century enterprise and in a twentieth-century enterprise (for instance, in an international enterprise) is identical is a basic blunder. The entire conclusion, however, is based on this wrong assumption.

Kurowski's theory was supposed to be the theoretical basis for the concept to be used by KPN and Solidarity in transforming the public ownership (state enterprises) into the group ownership of "public enterprises." In the latter, the degree of socialization of the ownership of production means would be far lower (the ownership by the staff) than that attained at state enterprises (ownership by the entire society). That would mean forfeiting the principle of socialist productive relations--that is, the public ownership of production means--and a movement in the opposite direction from that described by Engels: "The proletariat takes over the state government and, first of all, transfers the means of production into the state ownership."¹⁵

That this process (as conceived by its exponents) would aim not at "socializing property" but in an entirely opposite direction is evidenced also by their favoring--along with the concept of group ownership--various ideas promoting private property. The above-mentioned document of the Network mentions private enterprises alongside those with foreign capital and combined enterprises. A limit to the development of private enterprises would be set solely by a "clear and stable taxation system."¹⁶

The concept of development of private ownership was a major component of the economic program proposed by Moczulski. It would have to be implemented on the basis of the provisions of the 1945 nationalization act and the 1944 decree on agricultural reform. Moczulski postulates "changing the structure of enterprises so that the predominant type would be a medium size, economically sound, family business such as a farm." He does not attempt to answer the question as to where such large, for Poland's conditions, enterprises would come from and whose property these enterprises would be. There exist only two ways for creating larger farm enterprises--takeover of small farmers' property and takeover of state and collective property.

A further analysis of the system of economic management and the organizational structure proposed by Moczulski, in which the state and its structures are eliminated and replaced by regional "self-governments" and consensus of enterprises, shows that we would have to deal with both these ways of development of larger ownership in agriculture, that is, both elimination of state property and gradual bankruptcy of smaller and medium size businesses.

The treachery of the method used by Moczulski, when he outlines the direction of changes in agriculture, resides in the fact that, apparently, he formulates the same postulate as the act of 26 March 1982¹⁷ on stability of the private farm economy. The party, basing its strategy of agricultural development on the actual structure of property relations in the sector of the national economy, takes into consideration the place of this structure in the entire framework of productive relations and the system of national economic management during the course of the construction of socialism.

Discussing the new economic policy and the role of cooperatives, Lenin pointed out, in particular, that "the state authority over all major production means, the wielding of the state authority by the proletariat and the union of the proletariat with the many millions of small and smallest peasants ensures a guiding role of the proletariat in relation to peasantry, etc.... Is this not all that is necessary for construction of a socialist society? This is not yet the construction of a socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for such a construction."¹⁸

In reference to the tactics of the Communist Party in socialist construction, Lenin said, particularly: "The other part of victory--building communism by non-communist hands, being able to apply in practice what the economic views dictate--means to find a harmony with the peasant economy, meet the needs of the peasantry... We must achieve a situation where the numerous elements with whom we cooperate and who exceed us in number many times over would work so that we understood their work and that their hands produced things useful for communism."¹⁹

The adoption, in the statute, of the principle of existence of small-commodity peasant households under the conditions where the process of socialist development is managed by the state and the collective sector in the economy is predominant, has, therefore, a different meaning than the principle of reshaping the property structure in agriculture (put forward by Moczulski), accompanied by simultaneous discontinuation of the management of development processes by the party and the socialist state. This would be simply a road

to the restoration of the capitalist productive relations in agriculture, through the growth of medium sized enterprises into large farms and conversion of the owners of small farms into a reserve of employed labor.

The KPN program envisaged the same road for the entire economy. This was the thrust of the theory of "return to the trisectoral system." In that case, however, Moczulski was more restrained than the members of the "Network," as he proposed a limitation to the size of private enterprises (a legal limit to the number of employees working one shift).

From the attack upon the public ownership of the means of production followed the attempts by the above-mentioned representatives of the anti-socialist forces aimed at undermining the principle of centralized management of the national economy. This principle is the institutionally organized expression of the public ownership of the means of production.

The management of the economic process, which is the implementation of the function of ownership, encompasses: setting the production goals (planning), determining the means of implementation (management), control of implementation and determination of the principles of distribution (planning).

The principle of centralized management of the national economy is thus a consequence of the existence of common public ownership of the means of production.

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The attempts at a theoretical subversion of the principle of centralized management of the national economy involved deliberate and wrong equating of this principle with the particular forms of its practical implementation, primarily the method of enterprise management by administrative directives. In this manner, advantage was taken of the remains of this method in our economy due to inconsistencies in the previous reforms of the economic mechanisms.

It should also be recalled that the principle of centralized management of the national economy can be implemented with a certain degree of independence of state enterprises and also through indirect methods (by using the tools of economic control).

However, the state as the owner of the common public means of production must have a decisive say in setting the principle production goals, controlling their implementation, and defining and controlling the principles of distribution. It must thus perform the functions of the owner.

What is the basis for the principle of centralized management of our national economy? It is based, primarily, on the existence of a central decision-making body responsible for the main decisions regarding the development of the national economy: the structure of the economic branches (current and future), the growth rate of production and national income, the division of the national income into consumption and accumulation, and the division of accumulation into productive and nonproductive parts. Since these decisions

are implemented through activities of the units of the national economy (both in the collective and the noncollective sectors), the central decision-making body must have at its disposal the adequate tools to influence the individual economic units towards execution of the decisions made at the central level. These tools may either be directives (formal orders) or economic instruments such as prices, profits as a measure of the efficiency of an enterprise, taxation systems, contacts, etc. Whatever the methods or tools used by the central body to influence the units of the economy, it represents the socialist state.

The final decisions, made by the legislative and representative bodies, should be adopted with due regard to the opinions of the regional authorities and local self-government agencies in fulfillment of the principle of participation in the common ownership of the means of production.

According to the Moczulski concept, the central economic management would have been replaced by a system of trade and regional associations. The system would include:

- a) trade associations instituted by "people's enterprises" (discussed earlier in connection with the group ownership); these could be combined cooperative or private enterprises;
- b) trade-regional and regional cooperatives; and
- c) the Chief Economic Council, coordinating the cooperation between the associations of enterprises and cooperatives.

It is clear that the Chief Economic Council would be able to coordinate the activities of only those enterprises that would be members of the trade associations and cooperatives. This alone suffices to show that that body could not be recognized as the coordinator of the economy on a national scale.

The system of management is thus adapted in Moczulski's program to the system of ownership: the abolition of the common national ownership comes hand in hand with elimination of the central management of the national economy.

The latter, in turn, means lack of a system ensuring implementation of the common goals of society and thus of the basic economic law of socialism.

It should be recalled that the system of central management of the national economy is a tool for implementing the basic attributes of the ownership of the means of production by society (state)--through utilization of the products for the benefit of society according to its current and future needs.

Coordination of the entire system of economic development through trade and cooperative associations is, both in theory and practice, an unrealistic proposition. Such associations are incapable of influencing the evolution of all branches of the economy, coordinating the development of productive forces and the organizational system; above all, they pursue their own goals and interests, that is, the interests of a group rather than of the society as a whole.

Thus, insisting on replacing the central management of the national economy by the state with a system of economic coordination through associations of enterprises and cooperatives, Moczulski advanced a concept which, in practice, meant abolition of the socialist economy.

The document of the "Network"²⁰ also sets restrictions to central economic management by:

1. Introduction of the principle of independent planning by industrial and regional self-government bodies.

(Independent planning in this context means the absence of coordination between the central plan and enterprise plans. This follows from the essence of the proposal, where one finds, on the one hand, the statement that "the regional plans and the plans of enterprises will be tied in with the central plan by means of economic tools defined by statutes and by means of information exchange," and, on the other hand, that "the central plan is merely the plan for the government.")

2. Introduction of a free price formation by the market ("prices of a majority of commodities should be determined by supply and demand").

Free structuring of prices by the market would mean depriving the state of the basic tool for formation of the economic policy. Besides, this is an anarchistic approach to the modern development of production and exchange.

It was said explicitly that "the list of tools for centralized control should be strictly limited."

3. Confining centralized investments to the spheres of infrastructure and mining industries.²¹

The implementation of this principle would deprive the state of the possibility of controlling structural changes in the national economy. This was a particularly dangerous idea in a period when a change of the structure of the national economy is indispensable to assure macroeconomic equilibrium for meeting the basic needs of society. As a result, the central, strategic plan would remain on paper.

A common trait of the economic concepts of the socialist opposition was the attempt to discredit the reforms of the socioeconomic system initiated by the party, while adopting some of the postulates of that reform and transforming them into an opposite of the original concepts.

What in the reform of the socioeconomic mechanism initiated by the party and implemented by the government means a deepening of the socialist productive relations (socialization of planning through the increased participation of society in setting the public goals, increased participation of workers in management) was transformed in programs of the anti-socialist opposition into relinquishment of the basic principles of the socialist system--the state ownership was converted to group ownership.

The attempts at undermining the principle of centralized management of the national economy used the device of equating the essence of this principle with one of the alternative practical methods of its implementation, namely, the system of management by directives. "Socialization of planning" meant to the anti-socialist opposition relinquishing the centralized planning--with complete planning autonomy for the enterprises.

Implementing the economic principles advanced by the anti-socialist opposition would be a departure from the principle of centralized management of the national economy as an institutional and organizational form of the common public ownership of the means of production.

Abolition of centralized economic management and the concomitant abolition, or reduction to a minimum, of the common public (state) form of ownership of the means of production were thus the main lines of attack by the anti-socialist forces in the economic sphere. Their goal was to destroy the basic principles of the socialist system.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The Entirety of the relations of production constitutes the society's economic structure, the real base, on which the legal and political superstructure is built," K. Marx, "Przyczynek do Krytyki Ekonomii Politycznej" [Supplement to the Critique of Political Economy], Warsaw, 1953, p 3.
2. The gross national product fell in 1981 by 13 percent compared with the previous year; sales of products of the collective sector dropped by 12.6 percent, coal production by 15.6 percent (30.1 million tons), basic output of public construction and assembly enterprises dropped by 19.6 percent, productivity per employee declined 17 percent, export to capitalist countries 20.3 percent and to socialist countries 10.2 percent ("Economy in 1981," ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, 1982, no 3, pp 1-4).
3. "Uchwala IX Nadzwyczajnego Zjazdu PZPR" [Resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR], Warsaw, TRYBUNA LUDU publication, 1981, p 12.
4. S. Kurowski, "Emerging from Crisis--An Alternative Program," SOLIDARITY magazine, 1981, no 37, pp 1-8.
5. The unfeasibility of Stefan Kurowski's conversion program has been demonstrated in a polemic article by Stanislaw Albinowski. S. Albinowski, "W Strone Niebezpiecznej Iluzji. O Pewnej 'Propozycji' dla NSZZ "Solidarnosc" [On a Dangerous Illusion. About a "Proposition" for Solidarity], TRYBUNA LUDU, 23 Sept 1981, p 4.
6. Minutes of the agreement concluded by the Government Commission and the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee on 31 August 1980 at Gdansk Shipyards, TRYBUNA LUDU, 2 Sept 1980.

7. "Dokumenty" [Documents], KAW, Warsaw, 1980, p 20.
8. SOLIDARY magazine, 1981, no 29 (special issue), p 7.
9. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Dziela" [Collected Works] (second Russian edition), Moscow, 1964, Vol 36, p 361.
10. K. Marx, "Dziela Wybrane" [Selected Works], Warsaw, 1967, Vol 2, pp 408-409.
11. "Uchwala IX Nadzwyczajnego Zjazdu PZRZ," op. cit., p 3.
12. Ibid., p 12.
13. "Position on the issue of the reform...", SOLIDARITY magazine, 1981, no 29, p 8.
14. Ibid., p 8.
15. F. Engels, "Development of Socialism from a Utopia to a Science," in K. Marx and F. Engels, "Dziela Wybrane," Warsaw, 1949, p 138.
16. "Position on the Issue of the Reform...", op. cit., p 8, para 6.
17. "Report on the Plenary Session of the Sejm," DIARIUSZ SEJMOWY, 26 March 1982, no 30, pp 43, 44.
18. V. Lenin, "On Cooperation," in "Dziela Wybrane" [Selected Works], Warsaw, 1951, p 895.
19. V. Lenin, "Political report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [RKP(b)] at the 11th Congress of RKP(b)," in "Dziela Wybrane," Warsaw, 1951, vol 2, p 851.
20. "Position on the issue of the reform...", op. cit., p 4.
21. Ibid., p 7.

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CSO: 2600/430

POLAND

YOUTH DAILY COMMENTS ON ACQUITTAL OF ACTIVISTS

AU241710 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 22 Feb 83 p 2

[Commentary by I. Czyzewski: "A Chance"]

[Excerpts] We learned from a PAP communique which was published a few days ago that investigations against a group of Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] activists had been halted. This decision will, in all likelihood, lead to all sorts of reflections. These mainly young people could have found themselves in the dock, judging from the evidence of their activity.

The fundamental question is what is the motive behind this decision. According to the decision, the leadership of the Confederation was centralized and decisions, as the evidence revealed, were made by a small group of activists. The above-mentioned persons, despite the fact that they performed functions with important-sounding titles, neither took part in working out the Confederation's ideological-programmatic ideas, nor did they maintain direct contact with the Confederation's small leadership. It was, therefore, appraised that these persons could no longer influence or inspire actions of an antistate nature. What, then, did they do? They were mainly engaged in the printing and dissemination of illegal publications. This is why they were accused of belonging to the outlawed union and of distributing false information which, in the words of the appropriate legal regulation, "slander and degrade the system and the main organs of the Polish People's Republic."

The attitude of those suspected was also not without significance. Both the activists of the Confederation and the Defense Committee did not undertake any activities that defied the law after their release from internment. They pledged to abide by the law and satisfied the basic formal requirements which would facilitate the application of the regulations concerning the abolition decree. Persons connected with the "National Workers' Movement" limited their activities to copying the Confederation's program documents after the mayor of Warsaw issued a ban on the activities of this group in September 1981.

All these acts are now being forgotten. The clemency provision in the decree on the abolition of martial law was, for many people, a chance to make a break with the past. Not everyone wanted to take this chance, as demonstrated by the organizers of strikes or of "Radio Solidarity." There is little doubt that the attitudes of the people involved in the Confederation's work, though it is

not certain if they are permanent, were a great help in implementing the abolition regulations. The social context surrounding the matter was also favorable to this. There are legal restrictions, but there are also social considerations which are included in the decree dropping charges. Order has returned to the country and normalization is making progress. An important social cause under such conditions is the return of these people, including workers, to a normal life. The military prosecutor laid down the conditions for exactly this to happen while issuing this decision. Whether they will take advantage of this chance is a question which, for the time being, had best be left unanswered. Today, everything indicates that they will and time will tell what will happen.

CSO: 2600/484

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Konin Plenum on Residential Construction

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 15 Dec 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by (pis): "Residential Construction Ways of Ending the Impasse Discussed"]

[Text] (Our own service) A Plenary meeting of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Voivodship Committee took place yesterday in Konin. The topic of its debates was the program of residential and related construction till 1990, discussed in light of the Tenth Plenary Central Committee PZPR resolutions. Lech Ciupa, first secretary of the Executive Committee PZPR, presided over the meeting. Those participating were: substitute manager of the Economic Division of the Central Committee, Henryk Pucilowski, and vice-minister of construction and construction industry materials, Stanislaw Pajewski.

The statement of the Executive Board was delivered by the Central Committee PZPR secretary in Konin, Zenon Majtka. The waiting period for a cooperative apartment is on the average more than ten years. Such a long waiting period is due both to the errors that could be summed up as one-sided development of large-scale technology which is most energy-, materials- and transport-intensive, and to the already-accepted economic plans which undergo changes while being enforced. Such changes consist of a decrease in housing construction outlays in order to fill, by the savings so obtained, the gaps that exist in the economy.

A series of new centers have been constructed with an inadequate social infrastructure saturation. Considerable decrease in the number of ready-for-use apartments, and the emerging demographic growth during the past two years have lengthened the periods of waiting for apartments so much that, in the face of existing backlogs, they seem unreal. Therefore, the tidying up of the residential construction problem is, at present, the most urgent problem, after the matter of our domestic trade.

Present poor achievements in residential construction cannot be fully justified by any objective difficulties, or by the shortage of raw and other materials. They continue to be poor because of poor job organization, excess administrative staff, and waste in construction materials. Therefore, we must demand that both individuals show initiative in their operations, and that party organizations critically evaluate the performance of construction workers.

Basic premises and assumptions of the Konin voivoship residential construction have been outlined by Governor Edward Brzeczek. Among other things, he has stated that, according to the end of 1981 data, 11,709 people have been waiting to obtain cooperative apartments. Therefore, in order to provide every family with their own apartment by 1990, taking into the account demographic predictions and the natural decapitalization of the present pool of apartments, 23,500 more apartments should be created. The present program projects construction of over twenty thousand apartments which will not be sufficient to fully satisfy our needs. However, a complete fulfillment of at least the present program depends on the development of construction materials production based on local possibilities. Our specific concern in this respect is the manufacture of the filled- and empty-bricks made from the loam produced in stripping "Kazimierz" brown-coal.

Between 1983-1985, no significant decrease in housing demand is anticipated through the release for use of the total of 6,375 apartments, 3,475 of which are to be in socialized construction. This lack of housing improvement is projected in view of the anticipated continued difficulties with construction materials, and also because of the need to continue our cushioning policy for delays in the construction of related structures. The cushioning policy requires that we assign more construction assets to the building of related structures than has been assigned in previous years. Special attention must be given to repairs of our existing buildings. This problem is an extremely important element of the housing policy for the next few years.

In this discussion a great deal of attention has been devoted to the rational utilization of construction raw goods. A search has been made for new ways to increase and use all, even the smallest, reserves, and to find creative ideas that would actively develop our voivodship's residential and related structures construction. The tasks have been worked out for enterprises, for party organizations, government, and economic administration. The speakers emphasized the housing problems of the young generation. It was stated that we ought to develop youth-sponsored construction, and open possibilities to form cooperatives of young people's, single-family-unit construction.

In accordance with the plenum resolutions, the local authorities, housing cooperatives and construction enterprises ought to speed up their activities toward securing of the grounds used for the multiple- and single-family construction. They ought to develop technical infra-structure, increase the deficit materials production, and utilize every possibility to fully realize our projected program. (Article by: pis.)

Koszalin Board on PRON Development

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA In Polish 12 Jan 83 p 1

[Article: "Koszalin Party Executive Position on PRON Development"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Executive Committee [KW] PZPR in Koszalin has adopted the following stand on the development of the Patriotic Movement

for National Rebirth [PRON] in the voivodship district and on the program declaration project of the Pro Tempore Voivodship Program-Coordinating PRON Council [PVP PRON Council]:

The Executive Board KW PZPR in Koszalin considers its support for the development of PRON to be one of the strategic tasks of the entire voivodship party organization.

PRON units strengthen the process of socioeconomic life stabilization in our region, assuming the socially significant and accepted by the general population initiatives.

The Pro Tempore Voivodship Program-Coordinating Council's program project presented to our community is in agreement with the PZPR program line which was launched at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. The above project has been evaluated very favorably by the Executive Committee's secretariat and by the Voivodship Commission of Party and Factions Cooperation. This project is also in agreement with the directions of the voivodship party resort activities which are being fulfilled during the period beginning at the Voivodship Reports-Electoral Conference, especially from 13 December 1981, when the chief purpose of party members was to consistently fulfill the aims of martial law, outlined by the Army Council for National Salvation [WRON].

The project of this program, having undergone wide social consultation, has well-served the formation of a qualitatively new field of social activities, and, it has created a favorable atmosphere for the strengthening of our socialist democracy and for the rebirth process in all the areas of our political, social and economic life.

Expressing our great respect for all present constructive social initiatives of the people of our voivodship community, especially for the active members of the Front of National Unity [FJN], the Executive Board of Koszalin KW PZPR makes it a [moral] duty of all organizations and party members to undertake intensive activities that would serve the strengthening of the PRON's units. The coordinating programming table, worked out by the Propaganda and Agitation Executive Committee Division in favor of PRON units development, ought to constitute the foundations of these activities.

The political initiatives of the voivodship party organization will continue to serve the propagation of the PRON ideas and program, and the broadening of the social base of this program. They will work under the principle of [PRON's] role of a broad social platform and of a voice for patriotic activity, especially for the nonparty members who are in favor of accepting the principles of the Polish People's Republic political system.

Giving their support to the program proposed by the PVP PRON Council, the Koszalin Executive Board KW PZPR hereby issues an appeal to all those subscribing to this movement in our voivodship to undertake such activities that would serve the fulfillment of this movement's tasks, and the tasks of its units, and which would strengthen the authority of its activists who represent the organized public opinion of our region.

Koszalin Board on Economic Tasks

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 12 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by: A. C. "Current Problems in Party Activities. The 1982 Realization of Koszalin Voivodship Economic Tasks"]

[Text] (Our own information) Yesterday's meeting of the Executive Board KW PZPR in Koszalin, presided by the Voivodship Committee's first secretary, E. Jakubaszek, discussed and passed the materials for the plenary meeting of the Executive Committee which has been called to order for 14 January [1983]. The Executive Board KW will be devoted to the setting up of the Reports-Programs Voivodship Conference and to the evaluation of the course of the voivodship party organization report campaign.

The Executive Board KW has also considered the information concerning changes in the 1982 numbers and class structure of the voivodship party organization. At present, the ranks of our voivodship organization comprise 43.3 percent workers and 7.5 percent peasants. Technical intelligentsia, teachers, government and economic administrators also considerably participate as members in the party activities.

During the past year 5,277 persons have left the party in our voivodship. Of these 215 have been expelled, the remainder, by far the highest number, have been struck off the membership lists for various reasons. These reasons have been mainly: lack of interest in party life, neglect of party duties, personal request. Return of the party ID card has also been noted. Various reasons motivated such a move. The process of leaving the party by passive people, alienated from its ideology and policy, or unworthy of its membership because of their posture and behavior, is taking place in all the environments and groups of our society.

In 1982, 246 candidates in our voivodship were accepted as party members. Over half of these were workers and young people. In recent months an increase has been noted in the number of those accepted for the party membership. In order to continue development of this process we must intensify our ideological-educational efforts, especially those conducted among workers.

During yesterday's meeting information was presented concerning realization of the socioeconomic tasks in 1982 in our voivodship. Certain advantageous changes in production have occurred during that period. These became particularly evident during the second half of the year when production in some of the sectors of our economy increased slightly. This resulted in a 0.3 percent increase in the value of sold production as compared to 1981 (in comparable prices). The industrial increase was higher by 7 percent at least. However, the results of fifty-two enterprises became worse during that time. Average pay rose by 2200 zlotys as compared to that of 1981, while productivity per individual employed (in the industry) increased by 3.8 percent. The socialized construction industry has released 2,333 apartments for use, which is 97.3 percent of its annual plan, and, at the same time represents a production value lower by 6 percent than last year's. In agriculture grain production, as well as slaughter cattle and milk purchases were higher (almost three times higher than those of 1981), while poultry and eggs purchases were lower.

The Executive Board KW has taken a stand on the development of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in our voivodship, and on the projected program declaration of the PVP PRON Council. In addition it has ratified the plan of the Voivodship Committee work for the first half of this year.

Koszalin Plenum on Reports Campaign

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 15-16 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by W. N.: "4 February 1983 Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference. Evaluation of the Party's Reports Campaign"]

[Text] (Our own service) Yesterday the Koszalin Voivodship Party Committee debated at its plenary meeting. The meeting, which was presided by First Secretary KW Eugeniusz Jakubaszek, was also attended by the chairmen of the District Military Headquarters [WKR], the Voivodship Party Control Committee [WKKP] and by the secretaries of the area party organizations.

The plenum KW PZPR has made a decision to call the Voivodship Reports-Programs PZPR Committee for 4 February 1983.

At the beginning of the debates, KW Secretary, Zbigniew Krenz spoke on behalf of the Executive Board KW, giving an evaluation of the course of reporting campaign in the voivodship area organizations and resorts. Among other things he has stated that the voivodship party organization reports campaign has contributed to the continued strengthening of the party and to a more aggressive action by PZPR members and activists. At the meetings of the Basic Party Organizations [POP] and at its conferences, as the KW secretary stressed, it was evident that the activity of POP party members and members of area as well as voivodship organization has increased considerably in the realization of the Ninth PZPR Congress resolutions made in the plenary Central Committee KW sessions and in their own local meetings. This fact has found its practical confirmation in the social and production initiatives undertaken by the party members, and in their increasingly improved performance on the professional and community tasks.

The discussion during these meetings and conferences, according to comrade Z. Krenz, has centered around three topics: an analysis of the socioeconomic situation, the launching of an economic reform, as well as the realization of production tasks. It centered around the evaluation of the government and economic administrative work, around the functioning of social organization, around the work of PRON units and around PZPR members' role in these units. The discussion centered around an evaluation of the individual party units from the Branch Party Organization (OOP), the Basic Party Organizations (POP), to the first-level unit, concerning both party members in their performance at party tasks, as well as at their ideological-education work.

The reports campaign in the Koszalin Voivodship PZPR served as a test of the party's strength and of the practical realization of the Ninth Congress' resolutions, conclusions, and postulates declared during the 1981 reports-electoral campaign. It tested these conclusions and postulates that have been declared during the present party authorities' term of office.

Then the members of the Voivodship Committee became acquainted with the report materials for the Voivodship Reports-Electoral Conference.

The issuing discussion voiced a number of remarks, conclusions and proposals for the report materials. These were voiced by comrades Wieslaw Ploszaj, Jan Wasilewski, Jozef Kielb, Franciszek Dosciukiewicz, Stefan Sokolowski and Krystian Grodek.

The Voivodship Committee enacted a resolution approving the reports campaign evaluation in the organizations and area resorts of the Koszalin Voivodship PZPR, and ratifying the reports materials for the Voivodship Reports-Programming Conference PZPR.

Then the members of KW turned to the discussion of their organizational matters. The following comrades have been called to an alternate KW PZPR membership: Kazimierz Kania, Ryszard Lawrynowicz, Jan Scisla, Tadeusz Kozak, Ryszard Wabik, Ryszard Kotewicz, Jerzy Plachta, Zygmunt Roszak, and Wladyslaw Rys.

At his own request, motivated by his change of workplace to Gdansk Voivodship, Zbigniew Flasinski has been relieved from his duties as a Voivodship Committee member by KW plenum. Wieslaw Hildebrandt has addressed KW Executive Board with a request to relieve him from his duties as a KW Executive Board member, giving as motive of his request his mounting professional and community duties. These duties include directing the Fisheries and Fishing Facilities Enterprise [PPiUR] "Barge"["Barka"] in Kolobrzeg; his community tasks include, among other things, presiding over the newly-created Maritime Commission KW. The KW Plenum have accepted his request, releasing him of his KW Executive Board duties, and, having thanked him, they stated also that he would continue to work actively as a member of the voivodship party organization and as a chairman of the Maritime Commission.

The KW Plenum have dismissed Boguslaw Rola from their membership, depriving him by the same token of the delegate mandate to the Voivodship Conference. Rola was a former party head from Silnow.

The KW Plenum have also removed from its own and from the Executive Board KW membership Kazimierz Jablonski, who has thus lost his delegated mandate for the Ninth Party Convention and for the Voivodship Conference.

9934
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POLAND

ELBLAG PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Assessment of Social-Political Situation

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 24-25-26 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by sw]

[Text] At its quarterly meeting, the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] Executive Board in Elblag assessed the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship. According to a report submitted by MO [Citizen's Militia] voivodship commander Col Zbigniew Stanczyk, the situation is favorable. There is no evidence of social tensions in major plants. Labor productivity is increasing. The only case of an unfavorable situation is in the Kwidzyn Cellulose-Paper Plant [ZCP]. While there is no shortage of lumber, there is a shortage of essential chemical raw materials necessary for cellulose production--sodium chlorate imported from the GDR and Sweden and sodium hydroxide produced domestically. As a result, this past Friday it was decided to halt production at ZCP. The resultant losses are considerable, since the plant produces approximately 400 tons of cellulose a day and its foreign market price is approximately \$450 per ton. Intervention is still having only a limited effect.

Twenty-eight recommendations have reached voivodship courts concerning trade union registration. Of these, 17 were approved. In a number of cases, mere formalities are delaying decisions to make recommendations, so the Executive Board recommended that activities be undertaken to popularize the principles for registering the statutes of the new unions.

The second order of business during deliberations was to analyze the question of adapting the structure of union creation to voivodship cadre needs. Let us take a look at the data. For every 1,000 persons employed in the voivodship, 57 have had higher education, 212 are high school graduates and 230 have a basic trade. At the same time, various fields are saturated with qualified cadre to a greater or lesser degree. For example, in private farming, less than 15 percent, i.e., about 5,500 persons have more than an elementary-school education. In some regions of the Elblag Voivodship, particularly in the eastern part, many private farms are left without someone to take over the farm. We have observed a phenomenon in agricultural schools, where for every 1,000 students, only 300 come from rural farm families. Hence the problem of farm education, of encouraging graduates to go into work directly at production stations, assumes particular significance. Since

the economic reform is not yet in full swing, we still have an excess of administrators alongside a shortage of manual laborers. Moreover, a preliminary examination shows that during the next few years the manual labor shortage will continue. Hence the need to rationalize tasks and manage human resources optimally.

Executive Board members discussed the mechanisms of economic reform, the structure of the educational system with regard to the cadre needs of the region, and the proper utilization of the existing teaching base and of plant work time. The Executive Board concluded that the structure of vocational training satisfies our needs; however, the situation in agriculture is disturbing. This problem must be analyzed carefully, after which effective action must be taken.

The next order of business dealt with intraparty matters: an assessment of progress in the reports campaign in party organizations, the results of sociological studies of the attitudes of the party aktiv and the model activist and views of current events in Poland.

First Secretary Jerzy Prusiecki's Comments

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 28 Dec 82 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Prusiecki, PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] first secretary in Elblag by Miroslaw Dymczak on 27 December 1982; place not given]

[Text] We held this interview yesterday [27 December 1982], on the Monday after Christmas. As we began the interview, Jerzy Prusieckik PZPR KW first secretary in Elblag confided that he used the previous weekend not only to get a good rest, but also to gain some perspective on the past. "When I graduated from Lodz Polytechnic in 1958 and then started work in the Elblag ZAMECH Plants, I did not envisage that I would depart from my chosen profession. I became a party member 4 years later. Soon I was elected to the OOP [District Party Organization] Executive Board, then I became a district group secretary, Executive Board member and POP [Basic Party Prganization] secretary, KZ [Plant Committee] economic secretary, and on 13 December 1970, first secretary of the ZAMECH KZ. When I had been secretary in Elblag and at the plant only 2 days, the "December events" began. Ten years later, in December 1980, I was elected first secretary of the KW. In the past I have also been City Committee secretary, County Committee secretary, director of the Economic Department and KW economic secretary. One may say that this is a typical eexample of moving up in the party or that it is party careerism. But I have never done anything to gain cheap popularity or applause; I have never done any party "climbing." I have always been myself. I adhere to the principle that every person gets his real test in difficult situations."

[Question] During the past year and for the entire period that you have been KW first secretary, there have been many such situations.

[Answer] Everything changed so fast that we began every KW Executive Board meeting with an in-depth analysis of the current sociopolitical atmosphere in Poland and in the voivodship. Based on this, we would outline the directions and methods of further action. Time has proved that our assessments were on track. We were able to achieve what we did primarily thanks to the representation on the KW Executive Board of all leading elements of our voivodship and, equally importantly, the representation of these elements by people of real authority. Our very frequent contacts with plant workforces has been of assistance in this. We maintain daily contact, not occasional communication before or after a CC [Central Committee] plenum.

[Question] What basic conclusion do you draw from these assessments?

[Answer] We conclude that the vast majority of our workforces and voivodship inhabitants demonstrate great maturity and political sophistication. We have had some very difficult moments, but no element refused to carry on a dialogue. We argued things through.

[Question] Were intraparty activities also characterized by discretion?

[Answer] We did not follow the popular practice of replacing totally the leadership cadre of party organizations. We began our election process quite early, when the waves of post-August renewal were still turbulent. Despite this, more than 60 percent of the secretaries of basic echelons once again received a vote of confidence. Since we did not avoid broaching even the most touchy subjects, we did not see the coming into being of so-called levels structures. Nor were slogans created demanding the party's ousting from plants, or undermining the purpose of its existence. Our aktiv, which is joined with its workforce comrades for better or worse, has not been harassed. The principle of uniting and not dividing that we announced and have applied consistently in daily practice has had its effect. The events that took place in December 1980 have not recurred. It was both society's maturity and party policy that averted them.

[Question] The reaction to the idea of national understanding in the Elblag voivodship is notable.

[Answer] This idea has been received very favorably in our voivodship, primarily in plants and enterprises. It is spreading and reaching ever broader circles.

The activism of most social organizations is likewise worthy of emphasis. We do not put pressure on them, nor do we interfere into their affairs. On the other hand, we note the commitment of the party members who are active in these organizations. We take a similar approach to the organizing of new trade unions. The most important issue is not the rate of their creation, but their authenticity. We place much hope in the reactivation of employee self-governments. In most enterprises where they could resume activity, they have had their powers reinstated. Thus, there are no obstacles to their entering into comanagement.

[Question] Let us now move on to issues related to the voivodship economy.

[Answer] Here as throughout the rest of Poland, our results in 1980 and 1981 were worse than in 1979. However, our losses were smaller and we also began to make them up sooner. In April, we attained greater labor productivity than in 1981,

After 11 months in 1982, it exceeds last year's volume by 3.4 percent. There is likewise some improvement in construction, although the progress there falls far short of projects. Agriculture is also closing the year with better results.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this. First, under an extremely difficult situation in raw and other materials supply, management cadres and preparatory production services are doing very well, for the most part. Second, people want to work. The second conclusion was fully confirmed during the reports campaign that is now coming to a close in our voivodship party organization. Economic matters dominated the discussion, since it was unanimously agreed that an improvement in this sector will determine the make-up of the sociopolitical atmosphere and will confirm that the renewal is well-founded.

[Question] Is the economic reform also responsible for the improvement in production?

[Answer] The reform has certainly had an impact upon our results, although this impact has been an uneven one. In many plants prices have been emphasized and little attention has been given to the need to reduce plant production costs. In other plants, the preparation of incentives systems has focused on the role of production volume to the neglect of creating incentives for conserving materials, raw materials, power, transportation and other elements.

We are giving much attention to the implementation of the reform, as is the management of most enterprises. However, reform mechanisms have not yet come to the attention of workforces. They sense this and express it more and more often. For example, at the ZAMECH KZ plenum, the discussion was heated but its implication was clear: it is time to cast off the simplistic view that the reform means only higher prices. Every member of a workforce wants to have an awareness of his own personal impact upon the results attained by his crew, his shift, his division and his plant.

The economic reform is being put into practice in extremely difficult conditions. Some people even maintain that it is a situation that was doomed to fail from the very beginning. It also has many opponents. There is no doubt that it is a chance to get our economy out of the crisis.

In the Elblag Voivodship party organization, we are likewise assessing this enormous operation in moral categories. We are observing closely how the managerial cadres of enterprises, particularly party members, approach, interpret and implement it. Is it taken seriously as a management challenge or are ways found to circumvent it, as was done so often in the not too distant past?

[Question] Then are we on the road to a cadre policy?

[Answer] Let us make it clear: every party conducts its own cadre policy. Our party too must have one. However, we cannot adhere inflexibly to the past principles of so-called "nomenclature," which was ill-conceived and even more poorly implemented in many cases. In our voivodship, one can count on his fingers the number of cases in which it was necessary to dismiss specific persons from leadership positions. Nonetheless, we are interested in spreading the principles of the competitive selection of candidates for directorial and managerial functions.

We and our allied parties ought to recommend our candidates, but the final selection should be up to a jury. The competitions held thus far in our voivodship have confirmed that workforces have handled this opportunity in an appropriate manner.

The implementation of this principle will require our working more solidly with the reserve cadre. This will also open up opportunities for promoting young, outstanding experts, who also show that they are morally and ideologically predisposed to exercise leadership functions. Thus, a new kind of activity will be necessary.

[Question] Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, CC first secretary, in speaking not only of this area, but of practically every area, put it this way: The party should be a different kind of party, but the same party.

[Answer] While that seems simple--let us be frank--it demands serious consideration by every one of us. While he certainly means that our principles should be the same, our operating methods should change. The party should attain its goals, but not by acting as a figurehead or by taking credit for everything, but through the loyal work, commitment and attitudes of its members. The ultimate results will be determined by the collective efforts of party members, the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party], as well as of independents. Let us then make competition possible in this area as well, doing our best to see that our arguments are held in the highest esteem.

I am personally of the opinion that the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, in particular its programs and statutes, provide us with the full possibility of acting forcefully and of confirming the leading role of the PZPR. Thus, every party member should study these documents as soon as possible, giving them his full attention, learning the ideas contained in them and acting accordingly in daily life. Enough said--we shall have to wait for the results.

[Question] In conclusion, I would like to know the major directions of activity in the economic sphere in the near and somewhat distant future.

[Answer] Three sectors will remain in the center of our attention: agriculture, construction (especially housing construction) and improvements in the health and educational services base. This does not mean that industry, for example, will cease to interest us. However, the situation in the first three categories is particularly serious.

In agriculture our aim will be not only to increase productivity, but also to make better use of yields by improving processing and storage. We must implement the 1979 Zulawski Resolution as rapidly as possible. Next, we must stabilize private and socialized farms and improve land management. In housing construction, we are counting on better enterprise results and the development of private construction, which has need of homogeneous organizational forms, materials security and the assistance of factories. We are also thinking about the management of housing in our voivodship, as well as taking an inventory of housing needs. The statistics provided by cooperatives and other investors give an exaggerated picture. In speaking of improving the health services base I have in mind not only hospitals in Elblag and Kwidzyn, but also clinics in many locales.

In the area of education, improvement is needed in a number of schools and preschools. We will not implement this immediately or even within this five-year plan. However, we must outline a program based on our potential. How we work together will determine how well this program works.

[PZPR KW First Secretary Jerzy Prusiecki adds in conclusion]: For this reason, I would like to extend all Elblag Voivodship inhabitants my sincere thanks for their attitude and their work during the past year and to offer best wishes for fruitful and calm, but well-organized and productive work in 1983. I also wish you good health and much success in your personal lives.

Regional Social-Political Situation

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 7-8-9 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by v]

[Text] Yesterday's [6 January 1983] deliberations of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Elblag opened with reports on the current sociopolitical situation in the region. Things are quiet and inhabitants are concerned primarily with everyday matters. The atmosphere in plants is likewise favorable, fostering production. Next, the Executive Board heard reports on preparations for the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference and on the progress of the reports campaign in primary party echelons within the voivodship. This campaign is drawing to a close.

The Board learned that the reports conferences in gminas and cities were well prepared and well conducted in terms of substance and organization. KW secretaries took part in nearly all conferences. City and gmina managers and representatives of local ZSL and SD elements and youth and social organizations also participated. A characteristic feature of the addresses was their focusing primarily on intraparty problems, in particular on the need to consolidate further PZPR ranks, to strengthen the leadership function of the party with regard to local organs of the state and economic administration and to strengthen the party as a leading force in social life. It was pointed out that it is absolutely necessary to reckon with resolutions that have been made in party organizations and echelons, as well as to return to issues that have not been resolved and are important for particular communities, cities, rural areas or plants. It was emphasized that the measure of the party's credibility is the degree of implementation of its own declarations, resolutions and obligations, to a significant degree. At many conferences, the need was stressed for expanding ideological-party training in the PZPR. This will help us to have a more effective, desirable impact and to combat views and attitudes that are inimical to the party, as well as to put down antisocialist diversions.

Much attention was directed to the need to oppose more actively the manifestations of waste, speculation, social parasitism, indolence and lawlessness. The initial results of the implementation of economic reform were discussed. In gminas the need was stressed to increase land productivity, especially in Zulawy and to supply agriculture better with the indispensable means. Many recommendations and requests were made to local, voivodship and central authorities. As a rule, these were very realistic. All conferences closed with the adoption of program resolutions.

The next order of business during deliberations was to assess the program of development of the production of construction materials using local raw materials.

The KW Executive Board likewise assessed the work of social organizations within the region and became familiar with the guidelines of party cadre policy.

Assessment of Residential Construction

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 19 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by md]

[Text] The PZPR KW Executive Board in Elblag met yesterday [18 January 1983] to learn of the results of the implementation of last year's housing construction plan in the voivodship and to familiarize itself with the assumption in this area for the current year.

In the Elblag voivodship in 1982, a combined total of 2,102 apartments was made available, fulfilling 97.3 percent of the plan. Cooperative housing received 999 of these residences and city plants received 355. These results, which were achieved primarily because of a high work rate in November and December, place the voivodship 11th nationally. The total number of new single-family housing units was 350.

The implementation of the plan was inferior primarily in Kwidzyn, Malbork, Tolkmick, Susz and Sztutowo. During the last part of December, five buildings reached completion, but they were not taken for occupancy.

The draft plan for 1983, which will come before WRN [Voivodship People's Council] sessions in February, envisages that 2,305 residences will be ready for occupancy. Within the framework of multifamily construction for nonfarm families, 1,520 units are to become available, and 430 are to become available for farm families. In urban areas, 235 single-family houses are to be ready, and 120 are planned to be made available for rural areas. The implementation of communal construction will begin.

Materials supply, which was a restricting factor for last year's housing construction program, will hamper this year's program as well. Another limiting factor is the advance installation of communal facilities.

During the discussion that followed, Executive Board members broached a wide gamut of problems covering the scale of construction, its forms of implementation and costs. They said that nonallotted construction and patronage construction ought to be supported, but it must be based upon healthy principles. In the past it was often treated as a way of bypassing the cooperative housing waiting list. Contractor enterprises also approached this area improperly, giving it priority treatment, and failed to implement planned tasks in full.

On the issue of farm construction enterprise priorities, which has been subject to heated discussion recently, it was stated that their first priority should be investments for the food economy. However, they should not neglect residential construction in urban areas where this is necessary to concentrate contractor potential.

The view on housing construction costs is unequivocal: they must be reduced as much as possible. Given the limited funds for this purpose, cheaper implementation means a larger program.

In discussion of problems related to the shortage of power in engineering enterprises, it was revealed that PRIM [engineering enterprise] from Pruszcz Gdanski, which is likewise operating on behalf of PBRol [Agricultural Construction Enterprises] in the Elblag Voivodship, has begun the construction of a nuclear electrical power plant in Zarnowiec. It was questioned whether this was an example of self-government or license.

An analysis was also made of the worse than expected results attained by the Kwidzyn Construction Enterprises, which unfortunately made the housing shortage more severe in this city, particularly in cooperative construction. It was recommended that more help be given to this enterprise.

Other recommendations advise stepping up the production of construction materials from raw materials available in the voivodship, as well as the rational management of state controlled materials. Once again the need was stressed for the voivodship to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible in the area of executing installation tasks.

During the next order of business on the agenda, the KW Executive Board discussed preliminarily the assumptions of a cadre policy and examined materials for the coming plenary meeting.

8536
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SECULAR CULTURE SOCIETY HOLDS NATIONAL CONGRESS

Report by Chairman Jaroszewski

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 40, 12-18 Dec 82 Supplement pp I-II

[Report by the chairman of the Main Board of the Society for the Advancement of Secular Culture (TKKS), prof dr hab Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski, delivered at the Fourth National Congress: "The Secular Form of Polish Culture"]

[Text] Delegates and Distinguished Guests! We have gathered at the Fourth National Congress of the Society for the Advancement of Secular Culture. Five years have passed since the last Congress. These years have included days of satisfaction and days of bitterness. But we can all agree today that our present Congress is being held under circumstances that make it possible for us to take a long look into the past, at the road we have traveled, to draw conclusions from past experiences and to deliberately and creatively delineate the courses of action which will link our everyday toil with the thoughts about the future.

Our present Congress can and should become a further, significant step in the development of our movement. Two extremely important circumstances contribute to this: First, our deliberations are taking place during a period of deep revaluations linked with the process of socialist renewal. Second, our Congress coincides with the 75th anniversary of the establishment of a lay movement on Polish soil, and the 25th anniversary of our activity in People's Poland.

If today we evoke these traditions, we do so only out of respect for history. We do this also from the deep conviction that the strength of our movement and our organization is deeply rooted in this fragment of the world and history, called socialist Poland.

In reaching into these origins, we appeal most of all to those lay values which from the very beginning were linked with social progress. Our movement was born from the protest against social injustice and wrong, against the degradation of human dignity. The struggle for social progress, for the liberation of the working man, for his dignity as a creator of history--this struggle of successive generations of activists of our movement--constitutes an enduring and often even heroic chapter in our national history.

Joining in a common front with the Left made it possible for the lay movement to rally round itself numerous representatives of the working class, radical peasant activists, and above all, the progressive intelligentsia.

Declaring itself on the side of the forces of social progress, the lay movement also built its ideological program and shaped its identity.

Loyalty to Traditions and Ideological Identity

During this difficult process of searching, not without mistakes and defeats, the founders of our movement endowed the idea of humanism with special significance. In this way the lay movement became part of the entire universal humanist tradition, at the same time establishing the idea of humanism in the real dimensions of social reality.

Out of respect for human dignity and the readiness to understand the reason of others, grew the idea of tolerance, assumed by our movement, and the idea of dialogue, assimilated by our movement and Polish culture.

Out of these same inspirations, there established itself in the lay movement a particularly important value, which contributed to the formation of its philosophical countenance, its identity. This value is rationalism, understood to be in agreement with science and free from the religious mystifications of seeing the world of things and the world of people. But this is not only rationalism. It is also the ability to act intelligently and wisely, motivated by a striving for self-fulfillment for creative life and worthy goals.

Delegates and Distinguished Guests!

If we today evoke these lasting values of our past, it is in order to show our activity in a broader perspective than that designated by the immediate needs of today. By no means are we in this way avoiding the questions and tasks which today brings and the future promises. But this historical continuity of tradition, the ties of successive generations of doers, is also the fundamental problem of the identity and credibility of our movement.

On the other hand, our movement without wavering has joined those forces which for patriotic and socialist reasons have undertaken the work of renewing national life begun by the just workers' protest in the dramatic days of August 1980. During the months that followed, perceiving many valuable achievements restoring faith in a better and just world, with growing unrest we also observed the gradual destabilization of national life and the growing aggression in social relations. We did not hesitate to point to the forces of the social right, and also to the centers of political clericalism linked with them, as the carriers of unrest and destabilization. We did not hesitate to oppose the wave of intolerance and the striving to disrupt the secularity of public institutions, and particularly the schools. We acted thus without concern for the difficulties which our activists had to face and the slander directed at us by those same forces, who aimed at confrontation and overthrow of the socialist system in Poland.

The position of our movement was unequivocally committed to the Left, whose spokesman was and is the Polish United Workers Party, allied with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Thus we gave proof of loyalty to our traditions and our ideological identity.

Today also, under martial law, and under the conditions by which it will be suspended, our movement confirms its ideological options through participation in the process of restoring normal, undisturbed rhythm to national life, to the tasks set forth in the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and, insofar as we are able, to actions aimed at overcoming the crisis, so painfully endured today by our society.

With special force we wish also from the tribunal of our Congress to confirm our participation in all of those initiatives and measures which are aimed at reform and changes in the functioning of the state and social mechanism, at restoring the proper standing to the values and standards of the socialist model of society, whose constitutive element is self-government. We will continue to contribute to the building of national understanding, to the establishment of a broad platform of cooperation of all social forces regardless of the philosophical motivations which guide them. Finally, we declare--as our supreme duty--our participation in actions aimed at overcoming the crisis in the area of social awareness, and spiritual and moral life.

The devastation in this area is particularly extensive and deep. And here we see our place alongside all political and social forces committed to the development of our socialist Fatherland, the strengthening of our Polish, socialist statehood. The place which our statutory tasks designate for us, and a program of action, proposed in the theses which we submit to the participants of the Congress, the highest echelon of our Society.

Secularity of Social Life

Delegates and Guests! In participating in the broad front of renewal, we maintain and desire to maintain:

- our ideological identity, expressed in commitment to the development of secular culture in our country;
- our autonomy and self-government in the selection of ways and means of action.

We see the prospects for the development of secular culture in our country in various aspects and dimensions.

This is, first, the secularity of social life expressed in respect for principles; freedom of conscience and religious belief, freedom of selection of philosophy, separation of Church from State and other institutions of public life, and civic tolerance. Secularity expressed in the shaping of a culture of coexistence and cooperation of citizens of various world outlooks in the realization of a common good, which is our socialist Fatherland.

In striving to base a secularity so-defined, we encounter--especially after the Second Vatican Council--allies in enlightened, anti-integristically oriented Catholic circles. Together with them we assist in consolidating the unity of Poles in striving to surmount the present crisis and to ensure the Fatherland successful socioeconomic development.

Obviously, striving for the consistent implementation of a secularity so defined, envisages a decisive struggle with the forces of intolerance and clericalism, with the attempts to exploit religion and the church for antisocialist political purposes, with all kinds of attempts to undermine the secular nature of public institutions and to give them a confessional character, with the imposition of ceremonies and symbols of one of the denominations of a multi-denominational and multi-philosophical community, with discrimination against nonbelievers or those who have other beliefs.

Today the struggle for full secularity of schools, for the basing of teaching programs and pedagogical practices on secular assumptions, is becoming especially important. Thus the struggle to ensure that the Polish school impart to its charges honest scientific knowledge on the rules governing nature, the development of social relations and human life. That the Polish school shape a secular, rationalistic cognitive attitude in youth, a secular hierarchy of values, that it teach reflective and independent thinking, that it educate youth in the spirit of tolerance and respect for one another.

Against Discrimination

Of extreme importance, in this area, is the struggle against all kinds of discrimination because of philosophy or belief. Our Society is a spokesman for and a defender of the dignity of rights of both the nonbelievers and those whose beliefs are unorthodox or different from the canons of the most widely disseminated religious denominations. Our Society defends against fanaticism, civic intolerance, and various forms of discrimination, including moral discrimination and comradely ostracism. We want to formally and informally, in every community, establish a culture of coexistence and cooperation, based on tolerance and respect for human dignity.

A secularity thus defined does not, however, exhaust the aspirations and strivings of our Society. The secular culture for which we are struggling is not just the lay principles of the organization of public life, or a democratic culture of coexistence and cooperation of people with different outlooks on life, but, in addition, it is the dissemination of secular--regardless of religion--moral values and standards, the shaping of a secular--regardless of religious beliefs and authorities--cognitive attitude, the dissemination--based on scientific data--of knowledge about the world of nature, society and human life. The secular culture towards which we are striving is the complete liberation of the person, encompassing also his spiritual life; it is the complete affirmation of the principles of humanism, which declare that "not God, but man, is the measure of all things". That is why in the "program theses" presented to the delegates at the Fourth TKKS Congress, we are linking the terms "humanism" and "rationalism" with the principle of secularity.

Thus conceived, the struggle for complete spiritual and social emancipation of man

and on the shaping of his scientific cognitive orientation leads, and, by the very nature of things, must lead, to a conflict of religious reason and values with secular reason and values. And there is nothing frightening in this. What is important is that in this conflict no force be used other than the force of argumentation and personal example, that the "poor means" be placed ahead of the "rich means".

Humanism Enhanced by Socialist Values

As we have already said, our humanism refers to progressive lay reason, the anthropocentric humanism of the Renaissance Era bringing glory to man, aimed at emancipating him from the shackles of theocentric thinking, imprisoning him in religious orthodoxy; to the traditions of Polish tolerance and Polish freethinking. And also to the ideas of Enlightenment proclaiming the glory of the spiritual liberation of man, to the Nineteenth Century humanism proclaiming that "one man for another should be a means and not a goal". We want to cleanse our humanism of all of the remains of paternalism, enhancing it with the socialist idea of "subjectivizing man". Hence, also, in disseminating scientific knowledge about man and human life, free from religious illusions, we are also acting in behalf of practical humanism. This indicates support for those social changes and those forms of organization of human life that promote the comprehensive, and not the single-dimensional, development of man, that enhance his personality, rooting it in a genuine community of people, changes which promote the self-fulfillment of man in private and public life. This indicates a struggle with all forms of exploitation, degradation and subjugation of man, with all kinds of social deformations which alienate human life. This includes both the traditional deformations, as well as the more "modern" deformations of the bureaucratic-technocratic type. The struggle for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress with social and moral progress, the struggle with all forms of natural and social devastation of man's environment, the struggle for the development of all types of influence of people on the form of social life, and the right to be, as Marx would say, "real, aware subjects of the historical process".

Rationalism, so understood, is not only training the intellect and disseminating scientific knowledge about the world.. It is also shaping of secular--free of religious belief and authority--freethinking attitudes toward the world, inspiring and disseminating scientific knowledge about religion, its essence and functions. It is also disseminating a rational, full of thought and reflection, attitude toward society, and based on knowledge of social life, aspirations and needs of man, and the requirements of human coexistence--a morality growing not out of a "revelational world" but a real world.

A Reflective Approach to the World and One's Own Life

Delegates and Distinguished Guests!

We are well aware of the fact that the road to complete secularization of the spiritual life of people is an extremely complex and long process, that it has its objective and subjective prerequisites. Nor is there any automation on this road. On the one hand, the processes of technical progress, urbanization, dissemination of culture and education, the development of centers of social and cultural life independent of the Church--shape new aspirations, role models, hierarchical values and philosophical attitudes, independent of religion. On the other hand, however,

all kinds of deformations of social life, breakdown of secular moral authority, inequality between scientific and technical progress and social and moral progress, lead to delaicization of consciousness, and cause a return to fascination with the Church and its teachings.

It was these deformations of social relations, technocratic and bureaucratic distortions, the gap between proclaimed ideals and practice, and the breakdown of secular authority along with it, and not just the activeness of the Church, that lay at the basis of the delaicization processes appearing in Poland today. Once more, and in a way so painful for us, the old Marxist thesis that "social life determines social awareness" was confirmed. Hence all laicization of consciousness can be effective only when it is linked with the struggle for consistent humanization of social life, the struggle to overcome the various processes of alienation of social life--with the struggle for the development of perspicuous, based on the principles of justice and partnership, socialist social relations.

Furthermore, a spontaneous laicization, which is only the result of objective civilizational processes, does not always lead to acceptance of positive values of secular ethics and scientific philosophy. Sometimes it leads to ordinary fascination with worldly goods, a decline in interest in philosophical problems. Hence we should shape the processes of laicization in such a way that they will help those who are rejecting religious values and religious philosophies to consciously accept new, positive values of socialist humanism, secular ethics, and a scientific outlook on the world. That they not cause the people to become intellectually and morally lethargic, but induce them to a reflective approach to the world and their own life, and help them in consciously selecting an outlook on the world and the hierarchy of values.

Thus the Society has the extremely weighty task of propagating an autonomous secular moral philosophy toward religion. An anthropocentric and atheistic moral philosophy affirming man as the highest value, combining freedom with responsibility, rights and obligations, words and deeds. A moral philosophy restoring the importance of such virtues as straightforwardness, sincerity, modesty, diligence, honor, endurance, respect for the dignity of another, loyalty, tolerance, love of Fatherland and respect for the rights of other nations.

Contemporary people today encounter complex problems in the selection of values, the evaluation of various human and social events. Naturally, the deep inquisitiveness of representatives of the social and moral sciences can be of help here. But nothing can be a substitute for contact with works of art, with upbringing for culture and through culture. In developing moral and intellectual inquisitiveness, art also develops emotional sensitivity. Thus it can relate not only solid reason to certain ideas, but also strong emotional ties.

Unity in Diversity

Work on shaping a socialist way of life, on disseminating secular ceremonies and customs, will also play an important role in the field being discussed. Propaganda activity should support practical measures taken by us together with other organizations to spread pedagogical culture, the organization of one's own time, the development of secular ceremonies, the enhancement of forms of cultural activeness at the place of residence.

It is our goal that not only every working person in our country should be able to associate with beauty, but also, as Marx wrote, that he be able to shape his own life "according to the laws of beauty".

The quality of the Society's work will depend on the people who work in it, on the daily work of our teachers, club organizers, and initiators and participants of the social work undertaken by the Society.

There are among us people of different outlooks--Marxists, positivists, advocates of various forms of freethinking and atheism, and also believers who are committed to the struggle for the secularity of Polish culture. This diversity of positions, traditions, and also the generations of our activists, is not a weakness, but the strength of our movement. It forces us to develop increasingly more perfect forms of coexistence and cooperation of people of various viewpoints, and it has an influence on the wealth of argumentation.

Our diversity, the zeal of our discussions and the genuineness of our beliefs, are a fortune which we should guard with all our might, caring, at the same time, about the unity of our movement. Not mechanical unity, but unity in diversity, producing a wealth of forms of influence by the Society's workers on the people.

The aktiv is the most valuable asset of our Society. These are people of ideology, totally dedicated to our affairs, and also hardened to the daily struggle which they must often carry on single-handedly. They have proven themselves in the most difficult situations, attesting to the lofty goals of our movement by their attitudes. For their total dedication to the work, for their toil and the zeal with which they have performed their tasks, I wish in my own name and that of the departing Main Board, to sincerely thank them. They inspire deep respect and at the same time imbue us with hope.

This splendid aktiv of the Society is the best guarantee that our organization will be able to undertake and bear the tasks in today's difficult times, and will also proudly shape a socialist Poland looking toward tomorrow.

Speech by Orzechowski

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 40, 12-18 Dec 82 Supplement p II

[Speech by prof dr hab Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR: "Extending the Front of Understanding and Cooperation"]

[Text] Delegates! On behalf of the leadership of the PZPR, and on behalf of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski personally, I present to the Fourth Congress of the Society for the Advancement of Secular Culture sincere party greetings and wishes for fruitful deliberations.

Through you, on behalf of the leadership of our party, I would like to express its esteem and recognition to the thousands of workers and lecturers, organizers, and all TKKS members.

Your deliberations are occurring in a period filled with sociopolitical events of extreme importance for the Fatherland. They make it necessary for you, as workers in the Society, to give serious thought on how to creatively adapt the substance and methods of operation to the needs of the new situation. Our party--the Polish United Workers Party--faithful to the resolutions adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, is consistently implementing and will implement the principles of freedom of conscience and religion, the secular character of our state, and the upbringing of society in the traditions of tolerance and socialist humanism. This also means that it is necessary to oppose all symptoms of political clericalism, obscurantism, and attempts to use the religious beliefs of citizens to sow unrest and mutual distrust.

A citizen of our state must be able to make philosophical, religious and moral choices freely. The ideological, political and moral option in favor of a materialistic philosophy and the principles of secular morality which is the result of a conscious decision, flowing from a deep conviction, cannot be treated by anyone as an object of slander and insult. The development of a culture of coexistence of all Poles, believers and nonbelievers, Catholics and Marxists, a dialogue with the Church, should serve to strengthen our socialist Fatherland.

The correctness of such action is confirmed by facts. It is for these reasons that I highly regard the activeness of the workers of your society. They did not stop their activity in difficult times, they maintained their ideological identity and declared themselves for a socialist Fatherland, a socialist renewal. Their constant participation in the shaping and development of a culture of social coexistence, a dialogue between believers and nonbelievers, Catholics and Marxists, a dialogue conducted on the basis of solving our mutual Polish problems of today and the future, can and already has become an important creative element of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. This is at the same time a basic condition for the success of the efforts of our party aimed at overcoming the socioeconomic crisis.

We regard upbringing in the lay spirit to be an integral part of the struggle for the ideological, political and moral form of our society, for a new, socialist, deep human morality, for a socialist culture.

In outlining a program of social renewal at our Ninth Congress, the party established a broad plane of social action for all social forces and organizations, based on respect for the principles and development of a socialist Fatherland. TKKS should continue to have a proud place in this common front of struggle for a socialist Poland, for a secular culture, and for humanist values.

This place should be expressed first of all in an active opposition to tendencies and practices aimed at political clericalism and sacralization of our life; opposition to intolerance, attempts to divide our society according to religion, believers and nonbelievers; the undertaking of new initiatives aimed at spreading a scientific and rationalistic philosophy, for which, in the opinion of party members, the theoretic base is Marxist dialectic materialism, a Marxist vision of the world, the person, and society; organizational and program activities to develop and strengthen social relations, the secular principles of moral and socialist customs in undertaking all kinds of initiatives in behalf of dialogue, understanding and cooperation with all those who differ with us philosophically, but who, just as we, acknowledge the political-system principles of the Polish People's Republic.

Marxists and the advocates of the social values of humanism, PZPR members, members of the allied political parties and nonparty members, all participate in the advancement of secular culture and secular morality. Our common goal is to steadily extend this front of understanding and cooperation. It is extremely important to ensure the broad participation of nonparty people in the circle of Society activists. This means that the social-work character of the lay movement must be intensified, a new aktiv must be sought, work must be conducted in all communities, with special consideration to the youth and the countryside, methods and ways of action must be adapted to present-day conditions and the needs of society.

And so in behalf of the PZPR leadership, I hope that the deliberations and decisions of your Congress will become a new incentive for the creative development, the popularization of the lay movement, secular morality, socialist humanism, and the expansion of the scope and importance of TKKS.

Congress Resolution

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 40, 12-18 Dec 82 Supplement p VIII

[Text of the Resolution passed at the Fourth National Congress of the Society for the Advancement of Secular Culture]

[Text] The five years which have passed since the Third Congress of the Society for the Advancement of Secular Culture have been filled with events of importance to our future fate, to the further development of the material and spiritual life of our nation. These events, particularly during the last two years, have had a vital effect on the lay movement and determined its activity. They were the verifier of its social maturity, and its loyalty to traditions and humanist and rationalist ideals.

The Congress pays tribute to the broad masses of those active members of the Society, the lecturers and organizers, the activists in the workplaces and schools, from the workers, teachers and youth circles, who by their consistent stance, are responsible for the fact that despite difficulties and setbacks, the Society's philosophical and ideological identity was maintained, as well as its aggressive presence in communities which determine the spiritual countenance of society. At the same time, the Congress expresses its belief that the Society's aktiv, committed and tempered in the difficult tests of recent years, will be able to cope with the tasks that the present social situation places before it.

The socialist renewal of public life requires that the Society greatly intensify both its theoretical activity as well as its ideological-upbringing activity. The struggle for national conciliation within the framework of the program of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth demands concentration of special attention by the Society on those values which join all Polish patriots in work for the common good.

Events of recent years have proved beyond all doubt that there is a need to intensify and develop socialist democracy and rationalization of sociopolitical life. Lack of rationality in the sphere of social welfare and the functioning of state institutions is the basic source of irrationalism in the sphere of philosophy.

The socialist state constitutes the common good of all citizens, regardless of their philosophy. The secularity of the state, which is one of the basic principles of the Polish People's Republic's Constitution, was seriously threatened by the aggressive forces of clericalism. The defense of the state's secularity is one of the primary tasks of the TKKS.

The secularity of state institutions is a necessary requisite for freedom of conscience and religion, and mutual tolerance of people of different philosophies. It is also an inseparable element of a lawful state. Only in a secular state is society's philosophical pluralism possible. The secularity of state institutions is not just in the interest of nonbelievers but to an equal degree it protects the interests of the believers and the religious organizations.

Our Society should also begin a discussion on the philosophical subjects which divide Poles. This philosophical confrontation should be conducted on the principles of tolerance and mutual respect.

We constitute a social movement going back to the many centuries of traditions of progressive secular thought in Europe and in Poland, beginning with the turn of the Renaissance and its achievements in the struggle for liberation of reason and scientific knowledge from the domination of religion and irrationalism, through the traditions of enlightened rationalist thought, to the ideals of religious tolerance and social progress in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Now the inheritor and continuator of these traditions is the workers' movement, which aimed to build a socialist society. Our Society goes back to the atheistic traditions of a Polish and international workers' movement, and also to the anti-clericalism of peasant movements, as being the essential components of national culture.

By our activity we fit into the social current of the struggle for socialism, for the elimination of social inequality and injustice. We are contending for a lay character in school upbringing and training. We want to free humanistic thought in the higher schools and scientific centers from the tendency to clericalize it--to disseminate, in the broad circles of society, a scientific philosophy based on truthful knowledge about social and historical processes; to shape secular morality based on a system of humanistic values.

These tasks are especially important and urgent under circumstances in which the economic and political crisis in our country expresses itself also in a spiritual crisis.

The lay movement in Poland has a progressive and leftist origin, just as is its present character. The struggle for a contemporary form of humanism, secularity and rationalism, is the basic task of our Society, whose Fourth Congress coincides with the 75th anniversary of operations in Poland and the 25th anniversary of uninterrupted activity in People's Poland.

II.

1. The Congress underscores the need for the Society to take active measures aimed at attaining general recognition of the important role of its work and responsibility for its execution, the humanization of mutual relations between people, and the establishment of self-government and economical management in the workplace.

The Congress believes that it is essential to increase the presence of the Society in places of work. Attempts should be made to cooperate with the reviving trade unions, and to expand the permanent forms of the Society's work, such as: Workers' Culture Studies, Philosophical Discussion Clubs, and Studies of Religion.

2. The Congress believes that one of the particularly important tasks is that of strengthening the secularity of schooling at all levels, to consistently base the schools' teaching programs and upbringing work on secular principles.

The Congress believes it is urgent to intensify the ideological-upbringing work on all levels of training. It demands that "Introduction to Philosophy" courses be instituted in the secondary school, that "Young Rationalists Clubs" be activated, and broader publicity be given to "Knowledge of Philosophy" competitions. The Congress believes that it is urgent to introduce the study of religions in all higher schools, and that Ethics-Philosophy-Religion Studies be popularized.

3. The Congress also believes that it is essential to give more help to the family in the process of bringing up the young generation. To do this, Universities for Families, Universities for Parents, and Universities for Engaged Couples, should be developed and improved from the standpoint of their program.

4. The Congress believes it to be essential to become active among older people and suggests that TKKS take part in the Golden-Age Universities organized by the Polish Committee for Social Assistance.

5. The Congress recommends that greater use be made of the scientific potential of the TKKS. This refers to the initiation and dissemination of studies, particularly in the field of religious studies and studies on the progressive traditions of the workers' movement and peasant anticlericalism. The Congress proposes that a Scientific Council be appointed in the TKKS Main Board.

6. The Society should do more than it has heretofore in its work in the rural and city residential communities, particularly in establishing a convenient platform for the dissemination of a pedagogical, political, and history education culture, and upbringing for culture and through culture. The Congress demands that the Society increase its collaboration with the cultural-educational centers in the towns and villages and that it formulate specific understandings on this matter with the Ministry of Culture and Art and the social services that conduct cultural and education activity.

7. The Congress calls attention to the necessity to extend the publishing activity of the Society and believes it to be advisable to reopen the Young Rationalists' Library in a modified form, to continue the Library for Parents under the slogan "The Family and Upbringing", and to regularly issue ideological-upbringing handbooks in various communities. The Congress recommends that the Main Board make application to obtain a publication for teachers and activists of the basic TKKS elements, and that it constantly concern itself about the texts of and greater popularization of ARGUMENTY, RODZINA I SZKOLA [The Family and the School], and CZLOWIEK AND SWIATOPOLGLAD [Man and Philosophy], in the particular communities.

8. The Congress obliges the Main Board to work to establish a publishing house, whose task it would be, among others, to make scientific and artistic achievements of past and contemporary secular culture, available.
9. The Congress expresses the belief that it is indispensable to give much broader publicity to the problems of philosophy, morals and customs, in periodicals, in the daily press, in radio and television, and in films.
10. The Congress points to the necessity to develop and strengthen broad cooperation with all who accept the goals of the Society and who are ready to work towards them. In particular, we should strive to steadily expand cooperation with the Ministries of Education and Upbringing, Science, Higher Education and Technology, Culture and Art, and Health and Social Welfare, youth organizations, youth institutions, the Polish Society for Religious Studies, the Family Development Society, the League of Polish Women, and other educational and upbringing organizations and institutions.
11. The Congress points to the important significance of the advancement of secular ceremonies and customs as an essential element in shaping socialist culture.
12. The Congress obliges the Main Board to work actively in consulting, as provided by law, on all legislative matters which are linked with TKKS program activities.
13. Problem teams have formulated a series of working proposals which the Congress is sending the Main Board to investigate at the plenary meeting.

III.

The Fourth TKKS National Congress accepts the program themes, "Humanism-Secularity-Rationalism", and the Main Board's report at the Fourth National Congress, as program documents. It recommends that they be accepted by all of the Society's elements and institutions as a basis for preparing programs of activity in the current term.

The Congress obliges the Main Board and Society's Scientific Council to prepare a long-range program for the lay movement based on an examination of social needs and capabilities, and the specific nature of laicization transformations in particular communities.

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ROMANIA

EMIGRE PRESS REPORTS ON UNDERGROUND POLITICAL PARTY

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Feb 83 pp 1,7-10

[Article by Rene Theo: "Is a Political Party Acting Clandestinely in Romania? The Program of the So-Called 'Union for Liberty and Democracy'"]

[Text] Regularly and, of course, anonymously we receive invocations and appeals which take on pompous patriotic, national, Romanian titles which all are vehemently anticommunist, appeals which call the Romanians to struggle! We never have given importance to these invocations and appeals since we believe that the person who embarks upon a political struggle, no matter what kind it is, must put his name and address so that he be given credibility, no matter how little. Anonymity is and remains the prerogative of cowards and they cannot claim to play a role in an anticommunist or antitotalitarian struggle, no matter how nicely they have named their phantom organization.

However, in December 1982 we received a vast material--72 typed pages--which was sent to us by a person who wants to preserve his anonymity since he is returning to Romania. The material was entrusted to him by the "secretary of the director's committee" of a claimed party supposedly acting in Romania clandestinely and called "The Union for Liberty and Democracy." We cannot know whether this material, which represents a vast political program, was published in Romania, however we are certain that the author or authors of this political program have lived or are living under the present regime in Romania. The author or authors are class intellectuals, however completely torn from the realities of the western world. The political program of the so-called "Union for Liberty and Democracy" party begins by sinning in four directions. First: "The party proposes to aid the communist party, to give its activity a democratic, human direction in order to achieve full satisfaction of all the people's needs and to attune the structures of our society better." This de facto recognition of the communist party, which is just like the ones proposed by Vlad Georgescu in his work entitled "Politics and History" which appeared in the FRG in 1981, speaking of the program of the dissident movement in Romania, comes into total contradiction with communist ideology, however, making an apology for Marxism, which the communists in Romania have betrayed. Second: It says that the party is militating for a truly democratic republic, that is, in other words and in another form validating the dictate of Moscow, which changed Romania from a kingdom into a republic, without consulting the people beforehand through referendum, with the people being sovereign to decide. Third: "We come out," this

party's program says, " for the existence of two political parties in Romania--a political party of the worker type and another party with a broader, democratic program, which would insure a balance to the dialogue and struggle of opinions, but which would hinder political breakdown or eventual extremist trends." In a true democracy, the plurality of parties is not only accepted but necessary, also, so that the individual can set his political commitment. Finally, the program provides, on the other hand, for the "right of all workers to associate in free trade unions (in industry, trade, workers, peasant environment and so forth)." Thus, that which is not permitted for the parties--their plurality--is permitted for the trade unions. We have pointed out these flagrant contradictions because they denote that the author or authors of this political program do not know the reality of the concept of democracy.

The political program of the so-called party gives solutions in all areas: economic, foreign policy, religious, commercial, army, police and state security, man's liberties and so forth. And in these proposals we find all the contradictions and confusions which not only are opposed to communist totalitarianism but even to a postcommunist era. We shall reproduce several excerpts from this vast political program, which has a single merit--that of bringing out the spirit of those living in Romania, the way they see a change in the present political situation dominated by the RCP, even under its sponsorship. As an introduction the program has a long historical preamble, from which we bring out the following:

"What followed was Vishinski's fist on the table where the treaties with the king were being signed, what followed was imposing a puppet government at the helm of the country , infiltration of all kinds of flunkies and illiterates in positions of state leadership, what followed was the shameful exiling of the king, forced industrialization and collectivization by all kinds of methods of persecution; what followed were years of consolidating the communist totalitarian regime under and with the direct guidance of Moscow, which culminated in the 'victory of socialism' in the Ceausescu era, who , mentioning in passing, we feel is the most treacherous agent Moscow has used to subjugate the countries which were given to it as a gift precisely by the 'free states' following the end of World War II.

"However, so many examples and experiences each of us has had following World War II are proof of what communism means, of what it means to build it, of what Soviet Russia and its model of communism mean, of what Sovietism means in the area of international relations,of what the triumph of its philosophy--dialectical and historical materialism--means at the world level. Stalinism, Khrushchevism and Brezhnevism were merely the same political means of expressing the Marxism-Leninism which acted as a tumor on the roots of our century's society in order to channel through all means and methods the people's legitimate right to liberty and their own path of development along the road of the Soviet model.

"We have proposed that this party collaborate with the worker party, which remains the only legal party under the present political system, under conditions in which it would reject the policy of dictate, would democratize the methods of governing and would accept the principle of pluralism as legal; we do not intend to reach the situation of the breakdown of public opinion by increasing

the number of political formations--a phenomenon which would facilitate the appearance of undesirable contradictions, but we are moving decisively to the solution of the existence of at least two parties which could organize free elections, democratic ones, and a stable system of government, concerned with the national interests and with promoting good, peace and liberty.

"We also have published a rather voluminous program in order to express in it not only criticism of Marxism and its manifesto, but also the road we understand that we are to take in order to place into agreement the name of the party with the content of the reforms it proposes. This program, which could not be removed from Romania due to reasons of safety, has been revised periodically, although its first publication outlined with enough exactness the internal and foreign developments so that its final publication would be made in November-December 1981.

" Is it possible that in his time Marx did not foresee the results of the revolution he planned, the theory that the death of the society of capitalism, full of 'impurities' and buried by its gravedigger--the proletariat--would take completely another direction, with the first victory of this 'new'society he imagined even being the proletariat, the worker? Precisely this proletariat, today the working class, the foundation of socialist society, is more exploited than in the bourgeois social system, with the barometer for this exploitation being the salary the worker receives.

"Our party does not propose to violently change the state of affairs existing in Romania today; it does not propose to eliminate the leadership of the communist government party with brutality; it is in agreement that all the people in Romania are working, thus, must belong to a single social class and must have complete access to the country's leadership on the basis of freedom of opinion and an ideology permanently being adapted to the development of modern sciences and technology; our party wishes to help the communist party to give its activity a democratic, a human direction in order to achieve complete satisfaction of all the people's needs.

"Our party's ideology is based on the Christian ethic, on classical philosophy, on the truths gained by the current development of science, on its prospects for demonstrating that the world we know is an infinite part of the great universe and that in this great universe the theory of the birth of life from the simple movement of matter is not enough; this theory does not explain everything in the matter of organization and evolution of life and does not give definitive solutions, as the Marxist philosophers like to proclaim 'sub specie aeternitatis' that dialectical and historical materialism is the ultimate and definitive achievement of science in thinking.

"Science, this third element which is at the basis of our party's ideology, plays the role of helping religion fulfill its goal and morals, finding and meeting scientific truth in time and space.

"Second, we propose that we participate in central and southeastern Europe in an association of states, also nonaligned, comprised of Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece and eventually Bulgaria, on the condition that these states

are not part of the foreign military blocs, excluding nuclear arms, while the social and political systems of these countries should be truly democratic and unanimously accepted by their peoples.

"Proceeding from the idea that Russia's role is not to occupy Europe but, rather, to defend it from a future Asiatic expansion, we feel it is necessary to reject the stipulations of the treaties of Yalta and Potsdam, to apply their provisions correctly or, preferably, to revise them at a high-level conference so that the states of east Europe in this way can again become independent, nonaligned states which would organize their internal lives and international relations freely and without outside pressures."

Then follows the vast program worked out by the "Union for Liberty and Democracy" party for the form of government, from which we present the main excerpts which are proposed to be applied in various sectors of the state:

"The form of government and distribution of power in the state would have the following structure:

"Executive power, which would be held by the president of the republic, who also would have supreme command of the army;

"Legislative power, which would belong to the House of Representatives, with its deputies being elected through free elections on the basis of equal, direct and secret vote;

"Judicial power, having the Supreme Court as the highest leadership organ."

"The future geographic structure will take into account the historical traditions of the nations comprising the country's population, their role in the development of events and the common struggle carried out on the land of this country throughout its centuries of existence.

"We suggest that, outside the hospital and polyclinic system, where we shall firmly intervene so that health assistance fits into precise laws and rules, the physicians--as highly gifted, trained people who are obligated continually to be up on the innovations of the profession--have the right to offices with payment--of course, with reasonable fees--in which they would freely practice their profession in hours of consultation which would be established outside the hours of the hospital or polyclinic program. We suggest that drugs be purchased at reasonable prices; we shall appeal to the world network of drug manufacturers to supply the domestic market with good-quality products. Hospitalization will be paid from the portion of the health insurance which each salaried person deposits from his salary with the Ministry of Health.

"We shall make all efforts so that the hospitals are institutions of high health and humanitarian conduct, while the auxiliary personnel should work with devotion, worthily, without speculative intentions to get rich from the patients.

"As far as pensions are concerned, we shall try to make the system a uniform one, going on the idea of giving to the retired persons 90 percent of the

average salaries from the last two years of activity, respecting the years of seniority in work. In this pension system all salaried workers, including the peasants, will be included. We want to limit to the age of 52 the retirement age of women who have had children and we shall not make seniority in work a condition for the women's right to a pension, with the pension being calculated in proportion to the actual number of years served.

"We shall give the right to strike, which would be organized in conformity with the trade union statutes, but only in extreme cases. To be taken into account in organizing strikes will be the need for respecting the laws, the interests of the national economy which must not be affected by these kinds of movements directly linked with situations caused by bureaucracy and incompetence of those responsible for the good operation of the sectors they head.

"In the phase of the reorganization of agriculture, we suggest that some agricultural farms be established outside the agricultural units, by giving long-term concessions of agricultural land (25-50 years) to certain good managers, people of initiative, with good agricultural knowledge, with the ability to work and capable of producing good results in the management of such farms.

"In trade we go with the idea of coexistence of private trade with state trade, creating new private commercial organizations as the industrial and agricultural sectors are reorganized, organizations which would sell good-quality items, without profiteering; competition between them and similar state organizations must result in providing the consumer with superior, useful, long-lasting goods at the most accessible possible prices.

"As far as the army is concerned, declaring ourselves in favor of peace and disarmament, it is natural that we must substantially reduce the numbers. Romania's budget currently is very much burdened with the expenses for army needs and we cannot hide the fact that Romania has developed the industrial sector to an exaggerated extent by also producing to arm certain countries in Africa or Asia in which the communist powers have infiltrated and this has led to an increase in foreign debts and to an acute crisis at all levels of the national economy. We decisively come out against this type of policy, a fact which involves revising our position on army problems.

"We suggest the organization of an office for internal order and the police for the organization of internal order. The organization and operation of these two institutions will have as their legal basis the principle written in the constitution and in all international agreements and treaties--man's right to liberty, life, work and unrestricted expression.

"The two organs mentioned above are to insure internal order and state safety against demonstrations which do not conform with the law, using the most correct means of action, avoiding terror, injustices, intrigue and lies, despotism and intimidation as priority methods; they are to be the defenders of a balanced social-political system, free of disgusting and demoralizing paranoic manifestations which depersonalize the individual and transform him into a robot.

"Justice, called on to transform right, which the Romanians defined as that superb 'ars aequi et boni', into a force like that very suggestive one defined

by Seneca in 'fiat justitiaruat coelum,' a force which will be the state power which without reservation will become involved in the citizens' wish to represent for them the inestimable value of its content.

"In applying the laws we shall be firm in punishing any infractions and adamant, particularly with those who commit premeditated crimes, crimes accompanied by robbery, abominable crimes or rape. We suggest application of capital punishment for these crimes; we shall insist on publishing firm laws against theft, speculation, abuses, hooliganism, fraud and lack of respect in social relations among citizens. We come out for improving vocational education, which should provide good tradesmen for industry and agriculture. We shall not limit the number of places in higher education; however, we shall establish preparatory years, particularly in technical and medical education, for the purpose of selecting those who have true aptitudes for these professions. We shall do away with the admissions competition, but the exactingness of the professors and requirement for the students' good training will have special priority. We are moving along the line of unblocking the exams, but, with time, we shall reasonably limit the length of time for concluding studies.

"This is why we are concerned with the idea of reorganizing Romanian society according to new models in which the language of respect for human rights and the nation's rights to independence and sovereignty are harmoniously knit together in a really new society based on justice and respect.

"We want man's rights and liberties to be a basic force for his full development and for that reason we also come out for freedom of thought, of conscience, and of religion and for freedom of the press, as an expression of the right to think and express oneself, for freedom of people and ideas to circulate; for us, freedom is the concept which concentrates human rights in an absolute manner, with all the other rights being derived from this condition. That is why we come out for the use of this right with all our strength, so that all the citizens of our country can enjoy this profoundly and unquestionably human condition.

"Finally, we state that atheism, which also is a 'faith,' does not scare us, just as the freedom of belief does not scare us, because the expressions of religion--the oldest of the philosophies--confront science, despite the discoveries which it makes, with the final goal being to find the truth, that truth which science with all the progress made still has not revealed to us and which views the discovery of that formidable 'builder' and 'wiseman' whose scientific achievements are identified by man with supreme efforts made moment by moment."

"We believe that this resume of the program of the "Union for Democracy and Liberty" party, a program which cannot be taken out of Romania in its entirety due to its volume and with there being nobody who would hazard to do this, the program which we finally are making known, can be a document to be taken into consideration for its real worth by the Romanians who are living abroad, too.

"One thing, however, should be remembered: In this age, in which the free states whose political creed has been 'the struggle for social justice and for human dignity,' but which left themselves cheated both in 1918 and in 1943,

permitting a monstrous, evil social edifice to be built on the structure of certain backward states (some with a semi-wild population), having as its main weapon crime and oppression as its ideal, we still cannot yet come out in order to make this program freely known in our country.

"We want the Romanians outside the borders of the country to help us in this and we want to bring a new opinion from the free world through their organized action alongside those of us in the country to the extent of the possibilities and avoiding useless sacrifices, a free world which would impose another solution to the problems of Romania and the east European states subjugated by communist Russia.

"In Romania we no longer can bear the hypocrisy, the stupidity, the ignorance, with which things are done in the so-called socialist construction, in social relations and in the country's problems. We are surrounded by a mushroom of the Phallus Impudicus variety, an inferior plant, but one whose spores, envenomed by the poison of dishonesty, lack of faith, evil and ignorance, continually disseminate in our atmosphere, polluting it and making it more and more insupportable.

"We are being led by a shoemaker who at the time of his apprenticeship killed his employer with a blow of the hammer because, having caught him stealing leather from the shop, warned him somewhat sharply but clearly justifiably, a 'young heir,' immoral and amoral, who, just like his father, began his life by killing a 17-year-old pupil with his car, which he was driving at full speed, an act for which he did not even receive a punishment, by a woman who has 'draped herself' with all kinds of academic titles on the basis of some mysterious studies and even more mysterious works , through which the as yet unpublished works of a Romanian chemist scholar, dead under dubious conditions, have been published in her name, works which have given her qualities which good-for-nothings have hurried to validate.

"Our people--in their patient desperation taking the little event told by Plinius in which Apelles (a famous painter of antiquity), saying 'ne sutor ultra crepidam,' sets straight a shoemaker who had brazenly competed in evaluating a work by the arist in cause--are waiting and do believe that the proper moment will come when they can go out onto the streets and finally yell, one and all, 'Shoemaker, stay with your own trade!'"

We have given the most important portions of this political program. However, the readers have been able to determine that the attacks of "For Democracy and Liberty" are directed against the Ceausescu clan. Nothing is said about the atrocities and innumerable crimes committed under Gheorghiu Dej and company, which many of those now in the free world are forgetting and they are concentrating just on the demented crimes of Ceausescu.

We wonder whether this claimed party is an emanation of former Dejists who, removed from the action by Ceausescu, are agitating in various ways, not only in Romania but also in the west. If this supposition is true, then the "Union for Democracy and Liberty" is a stillborn baby. We have published this "document" with the reservations we have about it. We would be interested in knowing what Romanians in exile think about this so-called party which has been established in Romania. Their signed opinions will be published in our publication.

ROMANIA

IRRELEVANCE OF 'DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT' IN MODERN TIMES

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 17 Dec 82 p 9

[Article by Vasile Ionescu]

[Text] I feel that innovative approaches and scientific discussions as well as those initiated by CONTEMPORANUL on the subject of the nation, of criteria in the social sciences and about certain concepts such as the dictatorship of the proletariat are particularly useful. It would be even more interesting and useful if the magazine would not choose a series of monologues in which each one expresses his own opinion, but rather opinions already expressed also should be discussed since, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "only by the confrontation of ideas can the truth be crystallized and can the forward movement of the social sciences be insured."

I believe that enough theoretical and factual material exists in order to view the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat in new terms, both looking back and looking to the future. As we know, Marx referred in passing to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, deducing from the general method of considering socialism the opposite of capitalism the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the opposite to bourgeois dictatorship. But, from the moment that the dictatorship of the proletariat is conceived and defined as the dictatorship of the majority against the minority overthrown from power, the concept of the dictatorship already no longer is justified because Marx truly conceived of socialism as the choice of the majority of people. Achieving the will of the majority is the very essence of democracy and, thus, it is improper for us to call it a dictatorship, even if it is of the proletariat.

However, matters are otherwise to a great extent in Lenin. He worked out the theory of the possibility for the victory of socialism in a single country or in a restricted group of countries and not necessarily the most developed ones. Under such conditions, the proletariat, especially the proletariat made aware of its historic mission, was far from representing the majority of the active population. As a result, the idea of socialism and the transition to socialism more or less has to be imposed not only on the exploiting classes overthrown from power but also on a portion of the workers, the proletariat, a large mass of small producers, primarily the peasants. In Lenin's concept, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat did not exclude the fact that--in the name of social progress, the basic interests of the workers, including the

peasants(as "men of labor"--for some time in the transition period a certain neglecting of the principles of democracy and the will of the majority would be necessary. Precisely in this view, in Lenin's concept, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes the central axis for the concept of the victory of the socialist revolution, but acceptance of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes the basic and supreme criterion for the revolutionarism of various parties or personalities. So, a certain violation of democracy, of socialist legality is included as a possibility in those very conditions and general concept of the victory of socialism in a less developed country. The principle of "the end justifies the means" gained again both meaning and theoretical justification.

Of course, the old dispute on the timeliness of launching the revolution in Russia, a backward country, was long ago settled by history. The powerful development of the economy and the entire Soviet society, the transformation of the Soviet Union into one of the greatest world powers are conclusive arguments and answers. However, it is proper for us to study not only the positive experience but also some deviations and errors, violations of the principles which were demonstrated in some countries in the concept and unfolding of the socialist revolution.

Also, we should not lose sight of a specific aspect. The foreign factors and the international conditions had a contradictory effect on the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. On one hand, the world war, with all its consequences, created favorable domestic and international conditions; on the other hand, foreign intervention attempted to suppress the evolution toward a new order. The victory of the socialist revolutions in a number of countries following World War II, however, took place under other circumstances to a great extent. The revolutionary forces in these countries benefitted from the already consolidated existence of socialism in a country of the size and force of the Soviet Union. Under these conditions I feel that the "outline" for the dictatorship of proletariat was not necessary and inevitably "lawful" in all these countries. The fact is that during a certain period, in some countries a number of mistakes were repeated. I feel that also contributing to this was the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, to a great extent they were eliminated and the successes are remarkable at all levels; but in order to avoid their being repeated in the future, historical studies as well as the theoretical reconsiderations required by them are not lacking in importance.

At the same time, it is appropriate for us to extend the perspective to other situations when, due to misunderstanding or failure to consider the profound meaning of socialism and democracy as the will of the majority and of certain voluntaristic actions, contradictions and moments of crisis were demonstrated in some socialist countries. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized in his speech at the 1-2 June 1982 RCP CC Plenum, "The difficulties which appeared are not connected with socialism, or with too much socialism, but with deviations and mistakes, with violating one or another of the basic principles of scientific socialism, with failing to take into account certain general laws or concrete facts in one country or another and, thus, they are caused by the fact that the principles of socialism are not being implemented consistently." The logical conclusion which may be drawn, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu continued to point out, "is the need to always take action in building the new system,

in close agreement with the realities in each country, to take into account the people's interests and to always go along with the working class and the people." Socialism and the leadership of society must be achieved not in the name of the people, the working class and the proletariat, but by the working class together with the people, for the people.

In this context, we should forcefully stress that recognition of certain mistakes does not implicate the superiority and viability of socialism. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "We are firmly convinced that both the difficulties in Romania as well as in other socialist countries will be overcome and that socialism will powerfully assert its viability and innovative power." But decisive, well-studied actions, theoretically well-founded, are needed in full agreement with the will of the people. From here we also have the need for the creative development of theory, rejection of ideas and theses worked out under other conditions and in other eras and countries, ones which do not correspond to the specific conditions in Romania. Rejection of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a redefinition, reworking of other basic concepts of scientific socialism, the renewal of our general theory--as the procedure is day by day in the documents of our party and in the works of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--thus are the conditions for a good understanding and leadership of the process of building socialism.

In a broader conclusion, I feel that the time has come that specialized literature, following the example of party documents, finally should go beyond the stage of pleading in general for development and the renewal of theory and should move to a specific analysis of some specific theses and concepts and, in the light of the new conclusions, they should carry out changes in general theory. The specialists in this area must finally realize that nowhere in our party's documents in the last 15-20 years is there a new, original, creative idea, but an overall new, original, revolutionary concept. I think it should be very clear to us that dogmatism was not and is not merely a simple passing "aberration," a "childhood disease," a simple expression of "quotation-mania," a "subproduct" of a certain personality cult, but rather the expression of a certain trend of ideological isolation, which finds favorable ground in comfortableness, in inertia and the "fear of not making a mistake" of the researchers. In this view, the initiative of CONTEMPORANUAL--and I hope that the initiative will consolidate into a tradition, as a line of behavior -gains in value and importance which will be hard to underestimate in the future.

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ROMANIA

PAST LITERARY YEAR REVIEWED BY CLUJ-NAPOCA PAPER

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 23 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Petru Poanta]

[Text] Not many years ago, like in a certain happy fiction, our critics decreed: this is the year of the novel, of poetry, of the short story and so forth. Of course, one kind or another was felt to be a kind of bad weather and the one which did not know how to look out for the hailstones in time, shall we say, was left with an empty orchard. Clearly, the campaigns for one type or another were carried out either in the interest of some heads of magazines or from some critics' momentary "illumination;" anyhow, never due to the total involvement of the particular year's literary phenomenon. Of course, the classifications could not have another logic. Generally, the novel and poetry alternated in priority; first this dependence on the "classics" published in the particular year. Although literary and aesthetic criticism for about 15 years have been in a spectacular evolution, they still had never had a year of their own and, paradoxically, this frustration is due to the critics themselves, who read each other so rarely that they seem to be living in parallel times and areas. This year the error was somewhat "corrected" and, unfortunately, I was able to see the reverse side of the coin. Several polemics of a less ordinary violence produced a kind of panic among the readers not initiated in the "mysteries" of literary life and a misleading confusion of values. For example, nearly everything that was asserted in the lampoons in ROMANIA LITERARA was contested with unusual vehemence in SAPTIMINA, in tandem either with LUCEAFARUL or with the "Supplement" to SCINTEIA TINERETULUI. For the eye that is just a little trained the alliances are quickly observable. But this would have less importance if the principle for achieving them were value. Nobody can deny the need for a plurality of viewpoints about a book, except that sometimes the "absolute" polarizations hide something other than that which could be called the critic's subjectivity, with diplomatic grace. But we do not wish to enter into polemics with anyone here. To be observed is merely the fact that this literary year the lampoon criticism seems to have returned, primarily in attitude, to a kind of Maiorescuism whose priority goal remains erasing nonvalues. The central publications adjudicated this healthy conceit, however many times substituting aesthetic criterion with others of various kinds. Basically it is a matter of a stubborn dispute between representatives of a "traditionalism" and of a "modernism" in today's literature, to which poetry in particular has offered an adequate space; it is a dispute which as its substratum has the slightly older

altercation between "protoconists" and "synchronists." But rather than on a well-founded arguing of aesthetic or ideological problems, several magazines settled on some authors who actually cannot always be opposed either from the perspective of value or as formula. For example, we admit that Ioan Alexandru, in his anthology "Transfigured Land," almost completely denies the "expressionism" of his first creative period, returning to the sources of a Byzantine "sensitivity," however this does not necessarily mean in the general level of lyrics a break but a complementary nature with, shall we say, the "western" terribleness, that of the younger "generation." In his style as a condottiere with much fantasy, Nicolae Manolescu "sacrifices" imprudently enough a lyrical, indisputably rich "civilization," comfortably installing himself in this department of merry irony. From here we have many misunderstandings and just as imprudent reactions against some young people who, in the end, are talented. No matter what, viewed through such an altercation, a balance would be risky. We merely want to mention that Ioan Alexandru continues to us to be an exceptional poet, even if his journalism, burning with great spiritual self-denial and tearful old age, sins through a doleful rhetoric of the pulpit. It is no less true that this year other excellent volumes of poetry appeared by dedicated authors, particularly from the class of '70, but they, too, are barely registered in the central press and, if so, with indulgence. It is a poetry initially placed under the sign of Livrescu but one which actually relies on expressiveness and sensitivity, on a projection of the ineffable in this decade of so many insurgencies and myth-making. The delphic ambition of certain critics, however, is prejudiced. Instead of evaluating what is, it prophesies about what will be or what should be. Yet, at least at this level, we should record the commentaries of consummate professionalism and great intellectual availability of Eugen Simion, a critic of the middle generation who, through everything he has achieved until now, is on the path of giving the most comprehensive and most "exact" panorama of modern literature. Perhaps he is the sole critic who knows how to put grace and flexibility in the didacticism in today's lampoons. He does not have the nonchalance and superiority of Nicolae Manolescu's gesticulating, however the precision of the formulations joined with the patience of the analysis gives his writing solidity. Also at this level, we regret the rather frequent absences of Mircea Iorgulescu from lampoon writing; he is a far-reaching critic, undoubtedly, primarily supplied with a good feel for observing internal changes, less immediately understandable in our modern literature. Clearly, criticism in the Bucharest magazines is not exhausted with these names. The "opposition" has its redoubtable representatives, some, it is true, vacillating between the "west" and the "east" (we are referring to possible cultural typologies); but, on a priority basis they support the resurrection of traditionalism and the independent background. Of course, the so-called provincial press has not remained apart from these disputes. However, paradoxically, provincialism has been demonstrated if not by let us say an objective arbitration, then somewhat by an effort to discern the values at the national scale. The idea of the "megalopolis" of the central press to a great extent has failed not so much due to the prudence of the provincial magazines but due to the seriousness of certain critics involved in their activity. A complete scan of these publications would reveal precisely the decentralization of the power of criticism, a centripetal movement which stabilizes and does not pulverize values. Also, the phenomenon of migration toward the center has grown blurred considerably in all departments of creation, although the capital's publishers still are promising the mirage of mira culous dedication.

Viewed carefully, the '82 literary year refutes one preconceived idea: the literary provinces do not have an administrative-territorial logic. In this case the "province" may merely designate a narrow partisan spirit. Through calculated omissions, it levels or exaggerates through hasty promises. And, what is more, we feel that its psychology is demonstrated in moments of emulating creation and not in moments of crisis. Then the critic's falsely protectionist, "feudal" sensitivity appears. This literary year has offered us enough examples, despite the fact that it does not appear to be too fruitful. For example, there is one of its memorable events: republication of G. Calinescu's "History." The reactions of the majority of critics were sufficiently provincial in order to guess behind their backs not the fear of a return to a certain "style" of criticism but the fear of imitation, unrecognizable in its time. (Actually, this also happens with translations from world literature, particularly theory and literary criticism: moda retro). In any case, this year's lampoons in magazines have opened up several basic problems of creation, despite the fact that they did not always take off from the most representative books. For example, we shall see that some novels of volumes of criticism, completely remarkable ones, passed nearly unobserved, while at another time, the year of the novel was decreed for less significant appearances. But, when they do not have reasons to invent masterpieces, certain critics seek to invent "generations." In the end, a last statement to these preliminary ones: the expanding of the university in journalism; a nostalgia in lampoon writing, often scorned, in the occasional interviews in which the ambition of great syntheses is easier to support. We are living in an age of panoramas, as Nicolae Manolescu would say, with literary histories nearly being impossible anymore. In coming issues we shall attempt a similar caleidoscopic view of this literary year.

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YUGOSLAVIA

ASPECTS OF SERBIAN NATIONALISM DETAILED

Incidents in Secondary School

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Biljana Brankovic and Dragana Kanjevac, schoolgirls: "Sketches of Hatred"]

[Text] "If you hate Skipetars, make a checkmark." This sign appeared on a chair in our school. Written with a black Flowmaster. There were some 30 checkmarks..

In one geography class: "The 10th century Arab explorer Masudi mentions in one of his writings tribes in the Balkans--the Serbies and Harvats. He says of the Serbies that they are very dangerous and that everyone is afraid of them...." "And the Croats?" derisively adds the barely audible voice of someone unseen in the rear. At the mention of the name Serbies and Harvats there was a general hubbub.

The word "chetnik" [in English in the original] has been cut into the third bench in the middle row in the room used for English classes. Decorations from World War I are offered for sale. Cocked hats are in fashion. The Serbian emblem has been embroidered on some jackets.

In an English class at the beginning of the year. A schoolgirl is telling her impressions from summer vacation in Zagreb. "Did you carry a passport?" (again voices from the rear). Someone's hand has written on the walls: "Serbia a republic!" and "Long live Serbia!" [the latter in English in the original]. We are fighting against petit bourgeois attitudes, deep-seated moral prejudices, fossils of civilization, cowardice, opportunism, lies, lackeys, political malversation; we are sick with loathing at apartheid in South Africa; we are fighting for free love.

"If you hate the Skipetars, make a checkmark." And nevertheless some of us do hate and even call upon others to hate. We can never grow to hate the prejudices in ourselves enough. All of this is happening in school, where we are learning about nationalism and chauvinism, but also about abstract concepts, from "remote" examples. Nationalism has always been a SOCIAL PROBLEM, but not OURS.

"If you hate Skipetars, make a checkmark." The unknown polltaker wanted to divide us and count heads: "How many of US, and how many of YOU?" It is difficult to determine the number of young nationalists, but the most alarming thing is that the problem exists at all. The solution does not lie in an artificial and cosmetic warming over of brotherhood and unity. Love among our nationalities will be no greater if we sing more songs and shout more slogans to glorify it.

Nationalism and chauvinism, just like socialist patriotism, are LEARNED. Who are the teachers of this ideology of hatred? The teachers? Parents? Friends? Literature? The films? The theater? The underground which is more and more often and more and more outspokenly and convincingly telling its version of our "pigeon pits"--which the press, radio and television prefer not to mention. Or is it a question of dissatisfaction because of the clouded future, insecurity about how to go to college and where to get a job, schools which are out of tune, the economic crises, the disrupted system of values?

Perhaps one and the same person made all those 30 or so checkmarks of hatred. Out of a morbid desire to breathe greater strength and numbers into his ideology than it really represents. Perhaps one and the same man also wrote all those other slogans. But that does not make us more comfortable. After all, that person (or that group) is not somewhere else, in the Basque country, or in another republic, or even at least in another city. He (or they) is here alongside us, two or three benches to the right or to the left, to the front or to the back. That is why nationalism is first of all OUR problem.

We all have our own "more immediate homeland," but we differ in the sentiments that bind us to it, in the quality of our love. The nationalism and chauvinism of our elders threaten the present time, the nationalism of young people threatens the future.

But brotherhood, unity and community are more necessary to the present than ever.

Old-Calendar New Year's 'Celebration'

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by Grujica Dugalic: "The Trumpets of Studenjak"]

[Text] Celebration of the "Serbian" New Year is the new nationalistic hit.

I think back to the spring of 1981. Young men wearing fatigue caps began to walk the streets. We were all quite well aware that this was a "reaction" to Kosovo. We often saw nationalistic slogans (Albanian, but also some Serbian ones) on the walls. Songs began to be sung by larger numbers of people in Belgrade stadiums. "The Heroes Have Danced in the Midst of the Country of Serbia" and "Oh, Sindjelic, Our Leader"--mainly when visiting teams are from other republics. At about that same time the celebration of 13 January, when, as the people put it, one sees the Serbian New Year in, was revived from oblivion. I was aware earlier that individuals do celebrate this "holiday," but I

thought that it was because they were religious. If that was at one time the reason, it certainly is no longer.

Have you also felt a part of the atmosphere on the night between 13 and 14 January? If you have not been in the coffeehouses and restaurants that were exceptionally full on that evening, or if you have not been at some celebration at home, then certainly you have had occasion to hear the drunken shouts in the neighborhood, the breaking of glass, or reports from firearms. The author of the article has been in Student City on that evening, the largest student housing complex in the Balkans, where there are tens of thousands of residents. The enormous majority of the students have long ago parted ways with religion, but one segment has not parted ways with nationalism. Studenjak [slang for "Student City," suggesting that it is cold there] has been relatively "peaceful" up to now. Except for scribbling on the walls (which, to be sure, is by no means innocent) there have not been any excesses. However, the celebration of the Serbian New Year was "spectacular" and deserves a few more words. Even from early morning the shelves in nearby supermarkets were emptied of alcoholic beverages with lightning speed. As soon as dark began to fall, music began to blare, people began to sing at the top of their voices, although all partying is supposedly prohibited in the dormitory during the January-February examination period. More intensive surveillance by the monitors and the presence of the police "just in case" were a visible sign that the situation was not altogether normal. According to certain estimates there were parties in over 120 rooms to celebrate the Serbian New Year. From a decent distance I watched Studenjak at midnight. Bottles flew from the balconies, one could hear the blended sounds of music from phonographs, accordionplaying and group singing. Round dances were being danced in the corridors, and people were drunk at every step. The celebration on the evening of the 13th was louder and involved more people than the celebration on 31 December. We learned unofficially that the "hits" of the evening were "Oh, Sindjelic, Our Leader" and "The Serbian Trumpet Is Being Heard From Kosovo." In the morning the piles of glass in front of the dormitory, which made it difficult to get by, were taken away by the cleaning people. Of course, even in this task we showed our traditional sense of organization. First the area was cleaned in front of the first building which is located near the street, so that the passers-by would not notice anything, and only then the portion between the buildings, which was literally covered with broken bottles. How is one to explain all this? By a return to religion? By no means. By nationalism? Any exclusive answer would be wrong. There are parties every day in Studenjak. Parties are organized for birthdays, for passing exams, for graduation, when someone gets money from home, when there is nothing more sensible to do.... Because of these customs Student City is fertile soil for seeing in the Serbian New Year.

Student City is literally separated from the atmosphere that prevailed that evening; perhaps some other time we might write about the celebrations in the other student dormitories, at home and in restaurants. There remain about 11.5 months before 13 January 1984. Over that time there will be many discussions about various "Pigeon Pits." Often people in responsible positions will be pointing out the danger of nationalism. Probably outbursts of this kind will not be mentioned. Reports on them are perhaps in some other dossiers.

Anonymous Praise for 'Tradition'

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 83 p 9

[Letter to the editor from S. S., Belgrade: "Tradition or Nationalism"]

[Text] Trusted editors,

After lengthy reflection I have decided to write you, although I think that this letter will not reach the eyes of your readers. I regularly follow our daily and political press and periodicals, and I naturally keep up with your newspaper as well. The occasion for my writing this is the artificially contrived situation involving the linkage of certain concepts that seem to me absurd. It is a question, that is, of the impossible witch hunt which has recently been conducted against certain glorious traditions of the Serbian people and which can be compared to an artificial and exaggerated expression NATIONALISM. As a Serb who understands the present situation of crisis we find ourselves in, I cannot reconcile myself to the tendency to proclaim Serbian history and the Serbian tradition nationalism. The Serbs today are not attacking anyone, they live in peace, they have no claim to any nation whatsoever. The Serbian people is preserving its tradition and will not allow it to be deprecated and trampled on. We all know what the history of the Serbian people has been, we all know who Saint Sava was, Karadjordje and Stevan Sin-djelic, we all know whom Serbia drove out of its country and in what wars it fought. Why, then, comrades, are we condemning today absolutely every public mention of these individuals and wars? Is this something dangerous, is this something that our children should not know? Can this, comrades, be compared to nationalism and is this what is meant by it? Dare we negate a patriotic aspiration and a conscious, but not dangerous, recollection of our warriors and battles? We can only be happy that we have someone to sing about, and we can be proud of that not only in Serbia, but indeed in Yugoslavia. It is obvious that nationalism does exist in our country; yet let us not for that reason go to the other extreme. I think that our young people must know all our history, and as far as I see and feel, they want to. Organize a survey of opinions on this subject, comrades, do something that will have great importance for young people, as well as for those older people in order to avoid the shameful scenes of arrests and convictions out of the stupidity and ignorance of certain comrades. It is the right of every nationality to preserve its tradition and to pass it on to succeeding generations, but we all know what nationalism is. I will not send you my name and address to be on the safe side so that I do not bear certain consequences because of "freedom of speech."

Editorial Commentary on Letter

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 83 p 9

[Response by the editor to the letter of S. S. of Belgrade]

[Text] Our articles on nationalism (Serbian above all) have aroused great interest and approval among our readers, but also a great furor on the part of

those who have threatened us over the telephone, sent us unsigned letters full of profanity in which they accuse us of "betraying Serbism." Yet another piece of evidence that nationalism is on the offensive. There is no doubt that the anonymous letter we are publishing belongs to this "Saint Sava chorus," though it is written "more mildly," more cautiously, more "acceptably," without the profanity and the insults. Who is it that is proclaiming Serbian history and tradition to be nationalism? Who is it who is negating patriotic aspirations and the mention of "our battles and warriors"? It remains only to be clear about which are "our battles" and who are "our warriors," since we have been in many important battles--on both sides. We do not believe that S. S. is unaware that there is a Saint Sava Elementary School in Belgrade. We do not believe that he is unaware that little kids learn about Karadjordje at a very young age. We do not believe that he is unaware that there have been several brutal physical attacks on members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities. What, then, is the point of all these questions if not in the face of all the facts to stubbornly argue the thesis that the Serbian people is threatened, is going to ruin, is being plundered, is being subjected to arrests and persecution.

OMLADINSKE has never attacked Serbian customs, tradition, songs, culture, history, or heroes, but it has always been against their abuse for nationalistic purposes. We are certain that S. S. and people like him take the view that the white skull caps on the heads of a large number of young Albanians immediately after the events in Kosovo were an obvious display of nationalism, but we are also certain that they do not accept this when it is a question of sudden enthusiasm for wearing fatigue caps by a number of "our young men" which was not exactly negligible. And that is what we are against: these double standards, this division into the "peaceful" and "restless" nationalities.

But there is no point in discussing anything with phantoms.

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YUGOSLAVIA

LC CRITICISM OF ALIEN IDEOLOGIES IN NEWS MEDIA REVIEWED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 83 pp 4-8

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "Again the Same Isms"]

[Text] There Are More and More Signs That the LC Has Given Notice of a Resolute Ideological Showdown With Alien Ideologies

Instead of talking about why there is a shortage of detergents, gasoline, coffee, vegetable oil, and medicines, people are talking about "Pigeon Pit." It is as though Yugoslavia would go to ruin if we did not solve the problem of a theater production. Reflections along these lines, and these words were uttered by the well-known Novi Sad poet Miroslav Antic, are not isolated. A few days ago I was asked this question by a colleague: Why are you taken up with those historical topics, what do young people care about that when hundreds of thousands of them are unemployed? Or one hears voices asking why all of a sudden culture and creativity have become so important that there is more discussion of books, theater performances and television programs than of stabilization, imports, exports and rationing coupons? Do not tell me that in spite of so many illiterates and semiliterates we have reached the point where spiritual values have become more precious to us than material values, that books have become more important than bread. We can offer Fadil Hadzic's sentence as a response: Humanity got as far as our own days on foot without gasoline, but if it had not developed culture--we would still be in the Stone Age.

But is that the point, and what is actually happening on our cultural, creative and ideological front, what has happened or is happening so as to deluge our public with discussions, polemics, reproaches, condemnations, praises and panegyrics, why is all this flowering in the garden of our self-management, and why is it arousing differing reactions? To what extent is it actually a question of authentic culture and creativity, and to what extent does it have to do with what takes us back to the Stone Age?

Freedom of Creativity

One thing is certain: Much that has been happening, much of what has been written, uttered and played out is at this moment clouding interethnic and interrepublic relations. There are many examples to prove this thesis with ease. Let us begin with the now notorious "Pigeon Pit," a play which was

dropped from the repertoire of the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad because of nationalistic themes, and was then put on in Belgrade. There was a great uproar over this ban. In Novi Sad it even went so far as the taking of a stand by all the basic organizations, and even those who had not seen the play had to state their opinion. In Belgrade on the other hand they came to the defense of "freedom of creativity," and one television program even took advantage of that "defense." The public and the press were divided, and there were also quite a few low blows. These polemics gradually extended into other places as well, so that in Croatia "Pigeon Pit" was found to be nationalistic, similar positions were taken in Bosnia-Hercegovina and certain other places, but then so that the confusion would be complete, "Pigeon Pit" was awarded the highest recognition at the festival in Nova Gorica.

The case of a VJESNIK newspaperwoman Ranka Cicak, whom the Superior Court in Sremska Mitrovica had sentenced to 2.5 years of prison for "hostile propaganda," also became involved in these debates by force of circumstance. Much about that sentence was unclear, and on the basis of the newspaper articles which have been published, it seems that during the investigation and in the trial itself oversights were committed which could call into question the behavior of many people and could be detrimental to our judiciary. But in certain quarters they would now like to advance the thesis that this is yet another piece of evidence that Vojvodina favors the strong arm, while we in Belgrade are liberals and freethinkers.

There have also been polemics over quite a number of books. The polemics over Dedijer's "Prilozi ..." are now almost forgotten, but it is quite certain that they will flair up once again after publication of the third volume, which deals mostly with the showdown with the Cominform. Those who have read the manuscript say that Dedijer has not departed from his "method" and his approach to history. Isakovic's "Tren 2" [Moment 2] and Hofman's "Noc do jutra" [Night to Morning] had sunk somewhat into oblivion, but the NIN award and Isakovic's interview with DUGA have brought this problem area back into public notice. There is no need at this point to repeat everything that has been said about Isakovic's book, but attention should be paid to his assertions to the effect that the constitution is to blame for all Yugoslavia's troubles and also to the effect that the Moslem and Montenegrin nationalities do not exist at all.

Dr Esad Cimic's book "Politika kao sudbina" [Politics as Destiny], in which among other things the author presents his own case and shows with a series of documents how he had to leave Sarajevo University, is also contributing to the increasingly frequent tensions and polemics. This vision which Cimic has presented of his own destiny aroused a reaction in Sarajevo, but in Belgrade there was a scramble for invitations to the reception promoting the book, and some of the public were so "free" as to ask Cimic whether the Moslem nationality exists. Vuk Draskovic, author of "Sudija" [The Judge] and "Noz" [The Knife], two more controversial books, was disappointed that Cimic does not think 100 percent like he does. We also recall the discussion of Jancic's book "Kako sam izdao nacionalnu stvar" [How I Betrayed the Cause of the Nationality], which has now been resumed after adverse criticism was published in the Sarajevo journal LICA and now that LICA has since then be criticized for that reason. We should also add to this list the printing of Dobrica

Cosic's book "Stvarno i moguce" [The Real and the Possible], which was judged to be nationalistic as soon as it came out. "These pieces, as is well known, since we are not talking about any new pieces, are steeped in concern for Serbianism, and they essentially express a state-socialist and unitaristic conception of our unity," said Momcilo Baljak in a plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Similar views have also been expressed by Jure Bilic, chairman of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, and he called for a reckoning with those party members who had "committed an act of exemplary irresponsibility though they had been warned."

Labeling

Without trying to enumerate them all, we should also add to the inventory of controversies some of the articles in the journals SOCIOLOGIJA, THEORIA, IDEJE and certain others, the article entitled "Sorabi" by Milic od Macve [a painter], and the production of "Migration of the Serbs," which is being put on at the National Theater in Belgrade, and the fate of the manuscript of the book "Enigma Kopinic" [The Kopinic Enigma], and many articles and interviews presenting a variety of ideas all the way to advocacy of the thesis that the role of the League of Communists has been superseded and the like.

A few days back Prvoslav Ralic wrote this in assessing the situation:

"It is as though we have not come of age, especially now, to understand what we refer to as Yugoslavism in the context of socialist self-management, which is another name for the essence of this revolution, for the emergence of a specific and new human community. As though we are losing our ability for historical synthesis, for overcoming separateness of spirit and of interest. It is very dangerous if we begin to take pleasure in undignified squabbles. We need deeds, including books, which represent a new freedom, which take us where the expanses of freedom are greater. Unfortunately, books of the opposite kind are beginning to be published around us: quarrelsome books, divisive books, books written out of adverse private vanity, books lamenting the imagined tragic spirit of the author's nationality, books containing deepening myths."

And after all of this one must wonder whether the assertion is altogether true that all the divisive books represent above all quarrelsome individuals in other places, in another jurisdiction? It is easy to conclude from these examples that there are, say, books which are praised in one community, but condemned in another, that there are situations which irritate one community, but are indifferent to another, and ultimately that there are interrepublic exchanges of fire in culture and creativity. But to assert that this is the rule and that an interrepublic-provincial war of books and ideas has taken over in Yugoslavia is at the least short-sighted, since the ultimate consequence of such an assertion would run like this: we have eight economies, but also eight ideologies! The disagreements over books should not be called silly, but should on the contrary be analyzed with great seriousness, but generalization takes us nowhere. It would seem closer to the truth to say that all ideological tendencies are on the offensive, that in the field of ideology there prevails a great diversity to which contributions are being made by both

liberals and dogmatists, by both nationalists and their brother unitarists and other "ists."

To identify some community with some one of these tendencies is actually a new form of labeling. If it is even true that liberalism is felt more strongly in one community, and dogmatism or nationalism more strongly in another, this still does not entitle anyone to pass a judgment out of hand upon an entire city, republic or province. Yet we are willing to pass out labels without much thought, often not even realizing their nature nor their painful impact. And the one who pastes on the labels, an act that has become almost wholesale, does so out of his own narrow-mindedness, because he is not familiar with the Yugoslav situation, because he does not acknowledge the specific features of the areas occupied by Yugoslavia, because he stubbornly refuses to see that Slovenia and Kosovo are not the same thing, that there are differences between Serbia and Macedonia or between Croatia and Montenegro. But it is not a question here of any sort of mechanical application of the principles of Yugoslav foreign policy (though there are those who take such a view) to the domestic scene or a question of the right to seek one's own road to socialism. On this we have agreed, Yugoslavia has a single form of government and a single political and economic system, and the policy of equality cannot be reduced to the equality of states, since, as Spiro Galovic has said, "self-management, socialist democracy and the policy of equality constitute a whole and none can be taken without the other."

A Single Program

The League of Communists, as a unified organization operating on the principles of democratic centralism, is the guarantee of that particular kind of unity, but at the same time the guarantor of specific interests of the nationalities. The problem obviously lies in the fact that "we still do not sufficiently realize which differences we must retain and which eliminate. That is why tomorrow," Ralic says, "we will know even less whether to continue the rivalry between separate and unitarian concepts. We carry many unnecessary divisions within us without knowing how to overcome them, as though our ability for historical synthesis, for overcoming the separate and unitarian spirit and corresponding interest has been dying out. We will be too quick to proclaim what is ethnic to be separatist and unitarian. We must also see what is not evident, what is the deeper, historical-cultural and current socioeconomic cause of a priori anti-Serbism as well as of that same condition of the Serbs toward other nationalities in Yugoslavia."

Not for a moment, then, dare we get into a situation of forgetting that our single production relation and single political system are not possible without a definite unified socialist, self-management, cultural, spiritual and value program. And this, it is well known, has been clearly expressed and set forth in the policy and documents of the LC [League of Communists]. Men cannot live in brotherhood and unity because of the value of that slogan, but because of its essence, because of its human and revolutionary content. But it must likewise be clear to us that the history of Yugoslavia is at the same time the sum of the histories of its nationalities and ethnic minorities, that we emerge from the war as a country with a widely differing level of development from

region to region, and, finally, that AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and then the postwar development led to recognition of the Macedonian, Montenegrin and Moslem nationalities, and that the rights of the ethnic minorities have been recognized. It is in those facts, and any extensive analysis would find quite a few more elements, that one should seek the causes of differences, and perhaps the answer is also to be found there to the question: How is it that a pattern which has been a constant in our post-war development has not been recurring in these years? That is, stated in excessively simple terms, every 10 years or less we have seen in our country an alternation, strengthening and weakening, of dogmatism and liberalism, while on the present scene we have both tendencies expressed equally, certainly with a mixture of everything that goes with these ideological orientations. In a word, ideologies alien to the League of Communists have been on the offensive for quite a long time now.

And if there is anywhere where those ideological tendencies, and indeed the ferocity of the offensive, can be best recognized, then that is in the press and periodicals. To repeat the old phrase, the press is by no means a mere mirror of society; that is, it is at the same time both a vehicle and a creator of ideas, which is why the discussion of newspapers is above all a discussion concerning the state of the spirit, concerning ideological trends in general. That thought was in fact uttered almost explicitly in the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee which for the first time since the war (which is to say it all) put the press on the agenda as the sole topic of discussion. The preparations for this meeting were lengthy, it was preceded by discussions in opstina organizations of the LC, in the League of Communists of Belgrade, in work collectives, and, finally, in basic organizations of the LC in the publishing industry. It was a lengthy meeting and showed that this is indeed a very large political issue and issue concerning the system, or, as it was put in the introductory address by Momcilo Baljak, "social and party criticism of the situation in the media cannot pursue the sole line of spotting specific adverse occurrences without at the same time relating this to the future development of the political system of socialist self-management. That is why this discussion is not solely confined to the press and media in the strict sense of the word, an oversimplification that was perhaps deliberately desired in certain quarters."

Nationalistic Processions

Which was in fact the case; the assessments pronounced went far beyond the press and newspapermen. Baljak was thus to say among other things that "the aggressive advances of Serbian nationalism on the public scene in the recent past could not but cause us the most serious anxiety. Nationalistic behavior is making its way into everyday life in various ways--from nationalistic incidents at sports events, via the singing of nationalistic songs, the provocative wearing of national symbols, the writing of nationalistic slogans, to the exposition of nationalistic views in culture and the press. The field of culture is becoming filled more and more dangerously with nationalistic skirmishing.

"The manipulation of cultural values and national history are an expression of the tendencies of nationalistic particularism or unitaristic centralism.... Another reason why nationalism and nationalistic revanchism have sneaked into our interrepublic cultural and political relations is the lack of a Marxist approach to cultural history and of any very profound critical penetration of present-day political and cultural trends.

"Some books," Baljak went on to say, "which have been published in Belgrade are arousing justified critical reaction in the communities to which they pertain, yet they are receiving encomiums here. Their literary form serves only as a cover for the settlement of petty political accounts on a nationalistic basis. Hired critics and reviewers take part in various processions involved in the promotion of such books. All this is indicative of the endeavor of the nationalistic right to take the initiative in various areas of cultural policy and creativity."

Baljak also criticizes the pattern whereby nationalism and manifestations of nationalism are written about most easily and frequently with respect to "other places" and emphasizes that many discussions of current issues of economic policy, culture and creativity in general are burdened beyond any reasonable measure with a conformity of views within the particular community. In that context he mentioned NIN, in which "articles have recently appeared characterizing the lack of understanding for the nationality problems of other nationalities, which are on the border that divides serious discussion of the nationality question from nationalism, and the editors of DUGA have for a long time been off the political track in this respect."

(As part of the assessment of ideological developments in society and the League of Communists harsh critical words have been addressed to the weekly DANAS. So that we might acquaint our readers with this as fully as possible, on pages 34-36 we are presenting extensive excerpts from the statements made by Jure Bilic and Josip Vrhovec.)

There were also assessments similar to those of Baljak, and thus Spiro Galovic said that "to be blind to the obvious manifestations of nationalism signifies in and of itself being well caught up in it as well," adding that "it is a long time since there has been so much ill will toward others in our press and so much false concern for Serbianism." The assessments, then, are very serious, backed up with many examples which we have also mentioned in the introduction. Those with longer memories who have been following political life more systematically compare the ferocity of the assessments pronounced with those dating from 1966, when the Serbian LC bore the main burden in the struggle against unitaristic and hegemonic tendencies. Harsh assessments of Serbian nationalism were also pronounced at that time.

At that time the Serbian LC Central Committee concluded among other things that "various bureaucratic, class-enemy and also petit bourgeois elements are attempting through intensified activity to spread mistrust of the nationality policy of the League of Communists and 'concern' for the future of Serbia and of Yugoslavia...." And it went on: "... In carrying out the decisions of the Fourth Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, party members of Serbia have also

come up against that kind of nationalistic resistance, against attempts to dispute the importance of the decision of the Fourth Meeting of the LCY Central Committee and to criticize it from nationalistic positions. This has been manifested in 'fears' for the Serbian nationality and its interests, for 'Serbian representation' and for 'the fate of Serbian personnel....'"

Comparisons With 1971

In this mosaic of ideological tendencies and collisions it should be said that it is not only Serbian nationalism that is on the offensive. Even last summer a warning was issued in a meeting of the LCY Central Committee that "nationalism is even today the most dangerous vehicle of counterrevolutionary tendencies and recently all nationalisms have become more vigorous, operating more or less covertly through legal institutions--first of all in education, culture and the press, and striving for 'a renewal of personnel.'"

Quite a few examples have also been found to support this assessment. The events in the university dormitories in Zagreb and Split are still fresh in the memory, in Croatia the church has been on a permanent offensive, and nationalism is alive even in the thesis of the "foreign exchange which has been taken away"; in Bosnia-Hercegovina there have been open and public demonstrations by nationalists, indeed even the desecration of graves; Moslem nationalists have striven to organize in their own ethnic institutions; the polemics over the Slovenian language also bore admixtures of Slovenian nationalism; in Kosovo the Irredenta is still active, but the story about threatened Serbs is still topical.... It nevertheless seems that at this point nationalism has penetrated most seriously certain segments of culture and creativity, but, following Marxist logic, it is obvious that it is a consequence of the general condition. A consequence of what is happening on a broader social plane, but at this point it has become so "independent" that it threatens to turn from a consequence into a cause. All of this is an occasion for more frequent comparisons to be made between 1971 and the present time. Certainly we are not thinking here of comparisons after the fashion of Isakovic, who holds that the constitutional amendments have shattered Yugoslavia. Rejecting theses of that kind as nonsensical and nationalistic, since it is clear which and what kind of Yugoslavia Isakovic offers to replace this "disunited" one, the question still remains of whether some kind of 1971 is not recurring again?

Bosko Krunic put this question in his own way in the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, recalling Kardelj's speech entitled "For Democracy and Socialism, But Not Against Socialism" (delivered to the political aktiv of Ljubljana in 1973). He stressed "that at this time this needs to be a motto of many of our discussions, political conclusions and overall ideological-political actions." Krunic went on to say that 12 years ago a discussion was held in the same hall about the press in which "individuals, covered by the prestige of leading figures in the Central Committee, stridently advocated freedom of the press, democracy and the like. Soon thereafter there were conflicts with proponents of liberalism in the League of Communists.

"Some of the uproar over freedoms, democracy, and so on, which have been recurring now and for the last year or two, is actually an extension or

repetition in somewhat different form of the political subterfuge of that time. Often all of this cruises uncontrolled through the columns of our press and on the screens. The League of Communists has been lax in not taking up the problems of information from this standpoint earlier and with a more thorough analysis," Krunic concluded.

It might be said that there are elements to support the assertion that the year 1971 is repeating itself, as well as for the assertion that it is continuing, but still one should be cautious with such assessments. That is, if we are talking about a manifestation, about that which is visible, then comparisons are possible, indeed they even impose themselves, but any serious analysis would show that the present situation differs essentially in certain significant elements from that one 12 years ago. At that time there were no shortages or lines, economic conditions were more or less in good order, the deficit was minimal, no one even thought of referring to the state of the economy as a crisis, though perhaps the roots of our present crises and indeed also our present political misunderstanding might be sought back in those years.

Causes and Lessons

But even if we accept the thesis that it is a continuation of one and the same process (or renewal), then the question imposes itself quite logically of whether we have always and in all respects drawn the right lessons from those years of crisis in the seventies. Although somewhat oversimplified, deductions of this kind are offering some people an opportunity to draw conclusions to the effect that the League of Communists did not have the boldness to completely mop up 1971, that it actually left criticism to others and put itself on the defensive, in a situation to defend itself and to use enemies as an alibi. "But the enemies of socialism cannot always be looked to for an alibi," says Prvoslav Ralic. "If we do indeed have any, let us not at least produce them on our own. Yet we are capable of this. Through erroneous criticism of nationalism, through that one-sided or hasty politicized criticism of a segment of the intelligentsia and cultured public we are losing many people who adopt the policy of the League of Communists, even those who are members of the League of Communists."

It is not good for a revolutionary organization to concentrate its main ideological front on enemies, doing so with the help of ideological criteria, rather than on ideological creativity, which in the long run is the only way in which an effective battle can be waged against ideological opponents. There are more and more signs that the League of Communists has finally committed itself to this kind of ideological offensive even in its practical action: that is, not on firefighting and complaining, but, as Spiro Galovic would put it, on the essential prerequisites of correcting the ideological problems that exist in the development of our system, in the step-by-step conquest of the position of the League of Communists as the party of power, in development of the Socialist Alliance as a democratic tribune, matters in which we have not moved from Square One. Incidentally, how long will we go on repeating: "The present stage of the revolution has decisive significance to the lines of development and destiny of socialism in Yugoslavia. The essence

of the matter is whether the working class will take command over the entirety of social reproduction and perform the decisive role in political and social decisionmaking, or will those relations and forces which are opposed to the interest of the working class, socialism and self-management become stronger?" Lest there be no confusion, this quote is taken from the Letter of the LCY President and Chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. By way of conclusion let us also say this: "An ideological crisis has come about in the LCY which is manifested in opportunism ... in ideological heterogeneity and in spontaneous movements in the LCY, in the slacking off of the fight for self-management, in the turning of a portion of party members to other means and forces which are striving to conserve the old relations and to go backwards." This was written in the Action Program adopted by the Second Conference of the LCY after the 21st Meeting.

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KECMANOVIC NOTES TYPE OF INTELLIGENTSIA NEEDED FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 83 pp 12-14

[Article by Nenad I. Kecmanovic: "What Sort of Intelligentsia Is in Favor of Self-Management"]

[Text] Intellectuals More Often Receive Reproaches Than Recognition for Their Achievements

"The problems of the economy continue to have priority and we dare not allow someone to throw sand in our eyes as though now there were some importance in these 'Pigeon Pits.'" This is a sentence addressed to the public a few days ago by Mitja Ribicic, who is the head of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The title of a play was put in the plural as a metaphor of a series of cultural-political incidents which for a long time have forcibly imposed themselves on the attention of the public and mobilized an energy preciously needed by a society which is at the height of the fight for socioeconomic stabilization.

Until recently new cases were cropping up if not day after day, at least week after week. These topics progressively flooded the columns of the press, the radiowaves, and the TV screens, and then inevitably even the consciousness of working people and citizens and thrust them toward division over contradictory approaches to debatable suppositions, books, authors, publishers, and prizes, instead of unifying on the front of the fight for higher productivity, exports, better supply, and more jobs and housing.

The unified political-ideological campaign of the League of Communists in all parts of the country aimed at critical elucidation of the broader sociohistorical context and at exposing the adverse background of excesses in the fields of information, art, the social sciences, literature and journalism ... has yielded altogether precise assessments of the nature of this "throwing sand in the eyes."

The manifestations and tendencies of liberalism, nationalism, dogmatism, and even outright anticomunism are above all the consequence of a lack of critical consciousness and ideologically committed involvement of public figures on editorial staffs and councils, juries and speaking platforms.... Our system, that is, provides that precisely there at the base, in social and professional

bodies, the progressive forces, and especially party members, will win out through direct democratic action to achieve the criteria of socialist self-management and not through ideological neutralism to open up space for divergent platforms while waiting for intervention by political forums. The position, which is not very often outright destructive, but is usually passively indifferent, and the silence of people who with the written and spoken word can influence the shaping of public opinion have proffered an opportunity to parallel advancement of anarcholiberal and dogmatic-bureaucratic forces.

Social Evaluation

By means of caviling provocative outbursts the former have been demagogically imposing themselves on the attention of the reading, listening and viewing audience, subversively or commercially exploiting the public media. The latter see this as "evidence" that there is a need for suspension of democratic pluralism, that socialist self-management democracy is untenable, and that it is indispensable to bring about a restoration of administrative statism. That is why Jure Bilic recently recalled the positions taken in the LCY Program: The party will not act as arbiter in the domain of the freedom of creativity, in artistic evaluation of creativity, but alien ideas, ideologies and policies cannot and will not be accepted. In that context he warned of the need for certain creative works to be evaluated in broader social terms. Contrary, then, to certain apparently inevitable speculations within the country and abroad concerning our supposed turn away from the intelligentsia, concerning a suppression of dialogue, of the contest of opinion, of social criticism, and so on. It is simply a question of consistent realization of Tito's strategic commitments. And what that means is much more intensive and responsible and creative commitment of all the working people and citizens and an intelligentsia committed as socialist self-management--revolutionary action instead of the meditation of a voyeur.

The trouble, however, is that very often we quarrel too much over the issue of formal civil liberties. We discuss, that is, what may be said and what not, what it would be wiser not to attribute importance to and what must nevertheless be reacted to, who has the right to criticize whom, and who is inviolable both as a critic and as criticized, which subjects can be a topic of discussion and which are beyond discussion, what problems can be raised in public discussions, the press and over radio and TV, and what again is better dealt within professional journals and books. Insofar as we began to build socialism under the primitive conditions of a scanty semifeastal bourgeois democratic tradition, those issues of the freedom of public expression have continued to be topical and significant for us. Yet insofar as we have overcome that historical handicap and attained the levels of the French Revolution issues at a higher level become of paramount importance for us: the questions of socialist self-management democracy; it is not a question, then, of the formal freedom of speech, but above all of the freedom to operate in socialist self-management--it is not so much a question of the freedom of public opinion from bureaucratic restrictions, but of the freedom of the opinion of all entities in democratic pluralism to be effective, that is, of the conditions under which they will be honored as participants in framing global policy.

And one of those most important entities in socialist self-management is still the intelligentsia (even for all our efforts to close the gap in the long run between manual and mental labor). Not the intelligentsia in the broadest sense of the word, which covers all educated people, but the progressively committed intellectuals or Marxist intelligentsia, which with the spoken and written word is dealing critically with the current issues of public life from the programmatic positions of the LCY. The recent meeting in the Sava Convention Center organized by the Center for Marxism of the Serbian LC Central Committee, unofficially entitled "The Crisis of Yugoslav Society and How To Get Out of It," which brought together distinguished scientific emissaries, expressed unanimity on only one position: "How long will Yugoslav scientists travel like some sort of circus clowns from one round-table discussion to another and entertain the public though as a practical matter no one takes their opinion into consideration." This "no one" is not vague rhetoric, but rather the criticism is quite clearly addressed to our sociopolitical practice in which many fewer areas supposedly would have been made in recent years if more respect had been paid to the analyses of economists, political scientists and sociologists....

Oppositionist Ideas

It is certain that in this regard things are not everything they might be and that intellectuals are much more frequently and much more easily being addressed blanket public reproaches concerning their alienation from the working class, concerning their lack of connections with associated labor, concerning the privileged way of life they enjoy, concerning their elitist approach, about how they are the source of oppositionist ideas of all stripes and forms, and so on, than they are given public credit for the results furnished by our communist intelligentsia and in a broader context by the entire progressive intelligentsia. "There is a certain anti-intellectual current in our society, an authoritarian mentality which to a large extent we inherited, but which in large part we have also promoted, maintained and strengthened," Petar Zivadinovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, has said in NIN. And Damir Grubisa, director of the Center for Marxism of the Croatian LC Central Committee, complements him with this assessment: "A portion of the public figures, to tell the truth, are dealing with relations between the party and the intelligentsia without the necessary set of categories, nor indeed do they use the methods of Marxist criticism which must analyze every opinion, including the opinion to which one is opposed, in its social and political context and which must point out its roots, rather than wrenching the problem from its context and giving it the features of anathema because statements are being made for public consumption."

Neither socialism nor self-management have as yet completely dislodged certain primitive petit bourgeois stereotypes. The "politician," the "statesman," the "official" and the "leader" is mystified as the wielder of absolute power, absolute right, absolute truth, while the intellectual is looked upon commiseratingly as an educated fool, intelligent but apt to be carried away, eloquent, but to no purpose. We not uncommonly adopt a pejorative intonation when we refer to someone as "professor," and as Boris Majer once observed, we are the only European people in whose language the verb "to philosophize" has a

derisive meaning. Given these relatively widespread prejudices, it is relatively easy to turn public opinion against the intelligentsia as allegedly a stratum of spongers who out of the pleasant calm of their comfortable offices make big money finding fault at the expense of the direct producers. Of course, the bureaucratic-technocratic authors of such characterizations will always, consciously or unconsciously, pass over in silence the fact that they themselves have big offices, that they are also financed by the creators of material values, that their perquisites are every bit as great, and that their faultfinding is not confined to mere words in the air or on paper, but is sometimes carried out in practice with baneful results.

It is characteristic in complicated and difficult situations for intellectuals, as the most energetic segment of public opinion, to hurl charges to the effect that their opinion has not been sufficiently respected, and the response that ensues is dissatisfaction with the active and passive "contribution" of the intelligentsia to avoid such social problems in good time or at least to repair them after the fact. No one, of course, thinks that we have been let down either by the silent or by the speaking segment of "gray matter" as a whole or that our "eggheads" are to blame for all the troubles in society. But we do not know of a case in which any of our distinguished political figures have publicly appealed to the authority of the scientific opinion of some contemporary Yugoslav economist, political scientist, sociologist or lawyer by quoting from him, unless that individual is himself the member of a forum. One thus gets the impression that the names of prestigious intellectuals are mentioned only when the time has come to reproach them in public for something. Did not Aleksandar Glickov react as follows at a recent meeting of a party assembly: "So who are we going to join in analyzing the complicated social problems we have gotten into and with whose help are we going to find the answers if not with the help of science and scientists--surely we do not intend to do it alone?"

Cannons and Slingshots

Yet to what extent is our intelligentsia prepared to take responsibility for the practical realization of its cogitation, and is it even always willing to take into account the broader social significance of what it writes or says? When intellectuals become the subject of political criticism for their mistakes, that is, when an issue is made of their own guilt for the defectiveness of the situation both in science and also--partly resulting from that situation--on a broader plane, then it not uncommonly turns out that the position of contemplation they complain of suits them very well indeed. The lack of public recognition relieves one of responsibility, and being taken seriously imposes the by no means pleasant burden of responsibility for what is published as scientifically established. Certain intellectuals whose names have been called say that striking blows at them is the same as going after "sparrows with cannons" and that their criticism of others is like going after "elephants with slingshots." This self-denigrating minimization of their own role in society, which usually refers to the high percentage of illiterates, to the general lack of interest in science, art and culture in general, to the negligible number of people who read books, to the small public for theater performances, and so on, in collision with the high self-consciousness of the

historical significance of their own activity, which is no less messianic than that of their counterparts among professional politicians, who when they make mistakes feel that only they can correct them.

Which is why one contemporary political scientist has rightly observed that intellectuals have the greatest success when they apply their strictly scientific knowledge in critical analysis of past and current policy, but much less success in anticipation of developmental tendencies and projections of the future. This is what our people pregnantly refer to as the "second guessing" of an intelligentsia which after the fact is unanimous in detecting quite well where the errors have been made, but as a rule show perfect disunity in defining solutions. Mutual differences here are often more a consequence of academic vanity which stands in the way of thinking the same as a colleague than it is the result of an authentically original insight into real life. Although in the bodies of assemblies where the major decisions are made our political representatives have recently had comparative difficulty reaching consensus at times, the intellectuals who often criticize them for this would in all likelihood not be able to manage it at all--literally never. In other words, a policy that waited upon general agreement in some top-level scientific body would be permanently blocked, since in that sphere, were there no other reason, the bodies do not exist that could make decisions on an urgent basis that would have temporary validity.

That the pluralism of scientific truths, however, is not nearly mediated by the inimitable individual inventiveness of our scientists, but is also enriched by their elaborate political inclination, was shown at the time when the social plan for the country's development was being prepared. Since in the competent body it was not possible to reach an agreement that would optimally respect the real interests of all the sovereign federal units, it was agreed that joint criteria would be sought in the objective judgment of science, that is, from scientific institutions in all centers. The results obtained, however, did not bring the points of departure into dispute closer together by even 1 foot, which is acceptable as an expression of the specific needs of each respective community in whose context even science cannot remain neutralistically indifferent, but it cannot be tolerated when this is only an effort to furnish scientific substantiation at all costs for views adopted by their respective political representatives and to uncritically offer unreserved support.

Intellectuals and Self-Management

Socialist self-management is among other things an eminently intellectual function, which, of course, does not at all mean that it should be bound up with intellectuals as a social category. That is, it is impossible imagine an active self-manager without a certain level of knowledge, education and ability to think through his own position and the direction of society at large. But at the same time socialist self-management as a system, assuming, of course, all its social-historical prerequisites, is the most effective framework for overcoming differences between intellectual and manual labor. If ongoing critical reassessment and the finding of one's own limits are inherent in self-management, then it is also a constant intellectual challenge to every

thinking man. Put more precisely, self-management not only makes it possible, but also by its nature imperatively demands reflection, a critical attitude, commitment and reassessment of views and ideas. That is why it seems paradoxical for there to be intellectuals for whom self-management even as a concept is a foreign body toward which they uncommonly display active or passive, direct or indirect resistance.

Some oppose self-management because theoretically, and more and more in practical terms as well, it offends their idea of how exceptional they are, their illusion of being predestined for administrative affairs. That is why they perceive the development of self-management as a success for certain other people, but not their own. Insofar as the principles of self-management are becoming reality, their resistance will be greater and greater, since social processes are objectively leading to demonopolization of intellectual functions in political life, that is, toward an ever greater "inroad of the masses into the once exclusive domain of the intellectual-political elite."

Others are disappointed by the gap between self-management the idea and self-management as practice, and their opposition comes down to criticism of the realization, but not of the idea. Objectively, however, insofar as they are not capable of offering alternative constructive solution for improved practice, that critical attitude ultimately extends to the concept itself, since, even though this may not be the desire, is represented as unfeasible and Utopian. To that extent that type of criticism is an indirect negation of self-management.

There are also intellectuals who have objectively found themselves in the opposition, so determined by the awareness that self-management is always presenting them new moral and intellectual challenges and obligations, disquieting and intriguing them, seeking a new measure of creative contribution for which they are not spiritually prepared. To some extent they reject self-management insofar as they have not attained the stature for their own intellectual calling itself.

Nor is the number so small of those intellectuals who are oppositionally disposed toward self-management out of a kind of intellectual posturing. In the tradition of bourgeois culture the leftwing intellectual conceives himself as an individual who opposes the system, who calls it into question, who stands in opposition. By an inertia of consciousness that conception persists and is retained as one of the numerous bourgeois stereotypes within socialism as a transitional period. This kind of behavior can develop to the point of paroxysm, since these intellectuals, even in a system (self-managing) in which critical behavior is inherent, affirm their intellectuality by opposing the system.

Flight From Anonymity

For intellectuals of a certain type the repugnance toward self-management is not a strategic position, but ad hoc behavior aimed at drawing attention to themselves at all costs. Usually they have become fed up with an anonymity that was fully deserved, they are tortured by an aspiration to become well

known. Should by some chance the official ideology undergo a radical change, and they still have remained anonymous, these intellectuals would without hesitation adopt that same position they previously opposed. The sole goal is to swim up to the surface regardless of the manner or the price.

Intellectuals of a certain type belong to some extent to the "electrical style," since they establish their oppositionist behavior in such a way as to alter their own position alternatingly: they constantly pass from position to opposition and back again. In so doing they discreetly or openly make calculations in an endeavor to win the good favor of official structures. They thus demonstrate how useful they can be on the same side and yet how awkward when they are in the opposition. But regardless of whether they are on the same side or in the opposition, they exert permanent pressure to be integrated into the political structure. That is, they display their essentially political ambitions and careerist appetites now as construction and now as destruction. Finally, there are the intellectuals whom conformity fits like a glove. These are the ones who say "amen" before the prayer is even over. Precisely because every ideology can count on their a priori accord, from the standpoint of rational analysis they are the least reliable segment of the intelligentsia, that portion which will support every policy with equal zeal. In a self-managing society they are both dangerous and harmless. Dangerous because in their uncritical praise of the realization of self-management, with no sense of proportion or arguments, they act most effectively, though that is not their intention, to compromise it. They are harmless because they are so transparent and because true protagonists of self-management cannot count on them even as an inarticulate crowd of extras, much less as an authentic creative factor.

Insofar as we criticize their systematic passivity toward the problems of social life both as being apolitical and also as anti-intellectualism much more frequently in principle than we personally identify them personally and characterize them in ideological terms, we are objectively creating conditions for the reproduction of this category. That is, whereas even our Marxist-oriented and journalistically vigorous intelligentsia is inevitably and constantly exposed to the risk of individual errors which could make them the subject both of justified criticism and also at times of excessively all-inclusive criticism, the conformists remain invulnerable in their blessed peace. As the saying goes, it not uncommonly turns out that those who follow the proverb "Silence is golden" come off better than those who adopt the motto "You can't do things without making mistakes." The (a)political (anti-)intellectuals are in actuality very elusive, but perpetually reliable allies of individuals in the ranks of the intelligentsia who are consciously, openly and continuously operating from the platform of nationalistic, unitaristic, liberalistic, anarchistic, and so on, opposition to socialist self-management.

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YUGOSLAVIA

RATIONING SEEN AS WRONG ANSWER TO SHORTAGES

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by Pero Pletikosa, VJESNIK chief editor: "The End of Illusion"]

[Text] Like soap bubbles, illusions that ration coupons would solve all questions of supply are bursting. Reports from many localities eloquently attest how easy it is to print coupons, but how wrong it is to base any policy, especially a strategic one, on them.

The blackest prophesies, which at the first announcement of the introduction of coupons predicted the failure of such solutions, are proving true. Today we can see the most obvious evidence; the anger of all those who have coupons, yet cannot purchase ordinary quantities of goods with them, is justified. And furthermore, how should one comment, for example, on a phenomenon which has also provoked stormy reactions, that instead of coffee, a mixture of coffee and barley is being offered (upon presentation of a "coffee coupon," of course).

Can it be anticipated, therefore, that in the further development of distribution by coupon it will be possible to purchase a mixture of butter and margarine, heating oil of lower caloric content, edible oil mixed with something of lower quality, etc.? One should, of course, state with much gloating that there is rejoicing and celebration at the failures of the coupon program. But even without gloating, it must and can be confirmed that in our system, in our community and in our socialist self-managing relations the solution lies elsewhere, and not in coupons.

The impression was also created that those who received coupons were in a better, privileged position. If we look today at what the true situation was, we can at least consider that many people were left with nothing but coupons in their hands or pockets, while those without coupons, even if they did not always succeed in acquiring everything they needed--and this is a matter of items that are basic necessities--they were somehow able to cope, for which no small credit is due to their business organizations, and to the socio-political communities and their organs. We would not have written about that anew were not the supporters of distribution and restriction making themselves known again.

It is useless, of course, to polemicize with theses about coupons as a beneficial solution. Even if they were a short-term solution, in a bureaucratic sense their effect is such that they make impossible any kind of development of socialist self-management; they even drag backward and negate the gains that society has been accumulating for years. After all, revoking responsibility for the full supplying of markets and the population on one hand, and income relations and the production of market necessities on the other, can result only in choking the entire system. Inequality between citizens, shutting oneself into one's "own" local community and the wider repercussions of all this are very dangerous results. And there are many cases of this, although even one case is too many.

The statement of Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in discussions with foreign journalists about the position of the highest organs of the League of Communists concerning this only seemingly unimportant question, is therefore encouraging. Eliminating coupons for gasoline, in spite of the fact that this is not a financially easy or simple solution, will be not only guidepost to how problems should be solved, but an answer to all those who seek solutions that are unsuitable for our self-managing system. It will really be beneficial if they understand what is important and where we are leading ourselves astray.

There is no reason for opponents of coupons to celebrate and rejoice, nor for supporters of coupons to proclaim themselves enemies. There is much work for everybody, in the first place so that an adequate quantity of goods is ensured through domestic production, that much-needed foreign exchange is earned through exports and that, together, we pull ourselves out of difficulties as soon as possible. We are barely at the beginning of a year that will be marked by many tests, of which, without doubt, the most important is that we all work together on a program of stabilization and build more and better. Only in that way will we realize our ambitions, which are not small from either the sociopolitical or socioeconomic perspective.

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